

**Resolution and Theses
of the Fourth Bureau
Session of the YCI**

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**RESOLUTIONS
AND THESES**



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RESOLUTIONS
AND THESES
of the
FOURTH BUREAU SESSION

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IN the last few months the working class youth of the world has witnessed two important sessions: the first in Hamburg and the second in Moscow. Both set themselves similar tasks — to provide the proletarian youth with further means of struggle; to perfect the ones already existing; and to determine the future course of action for the young workers in their struggle against capitalism.

These two conferences were more than important; they were decisive for the working class youth.

Hamburg — a symbol of weakness and lack of the will to struggle; an ushering in of the period of decomposition for the social democratic camp, for young and adults alike.

Moscow — a proof of the strength of revolutionary action; the beginning of the period of rapid growth and the consolidation of the Young Communist International into a world organization.

The Hamburg Conference has left a very unfavorable impression on the entire working class youth, even on the social democratic young workers. Not the least enthusiasm was roused by it. This is quite natural, for no one is enthusiastic at a funeral. And Hamburg was the funeral for the corpse of the centrist youth international. The birth of the new is often paid for by the death of the old, but the death of the old is not alone sufficient to ensure the birth of the new, even if the old has committed suicide especially for that purpose.

The Hamburg Conference was a conference of renunciation. It proved itself this in every respect. No struggle against war and reaction, both of which *only concern the adults*. No economic struggle of the working class youth. This had already been replaced at the Salzburg Conference by a commission of the Amsterdam Trade Union International. And

who dares to disturb these latter from their slumbers? No political education, because the problem is entirely different, it being to educate respectable citizens of "their" republic in the spirit of Noske and Cuno. All problems concerning the working class youth received similar treatment. Thus was dug the first ground for the new grave.

The Fourth Bureau Session of the Young Communist International offered quite another picture. A reading of the resolutions will prove with what enthusiasm the representatives of our most important Leagues, coming directly from their every day struggles, met in Moscow; and with what thoroughness they exchanged the knowledge and experiences gained since the Third Congress.

Unlike Hamburg, there was no interminable discussion on elementary problems. There was not the least difference of opinion on the most important fundamental problems but rather a complete ideological unity as to the tactics of the Communist International; and an unanimous agreement with the political policy laid down by the Executive Committee of the Young Communist International. All those that were fortunate enough to attend the Session must have realized there that they were not merely the representatives of the various Leagues, but the general staff of an international organization in session to examine the first results of the struggle carried on by their organization during the past few months.

All the sessions were characterized by the concrete experiences gained on all fields of work. Especially inspiring was the impression made by our comrades from France and Germany, who by their courageous attitude in the Ruhr, have saved the honor of the working class.

Congratulations are due to our Italian comrades who have bravely resisted the reactionary wave of Fascism and maintained their organization in the face of all difficulties. On behalf of all the Leagues the Bureau Session welcomed the encouraging reports of our comrades from Germany who have obtained such splendid results from their activities in the first hundred shop nuclei; results which prove conclusively that equal success can be achieved by other Leagues.

A mass movement in the very heart and the life of the young workers thru shop nuclei — this more than ever is our slogan.

Comrades, this booklet presents to you, all the resolutions adopted at the Bureau Session. It provides valuable material on all problems of the daily work of our Leagues. It is now your task to study it and to put it into practice. The Bureau Session proved that we have really started to work in accordance with international decisions. No decision must be allowed to remain unknown to our members. All must be carried thru. Read them! *And then read them again!* Review the work that has been already achieved. With the help of international experiences, we shall soon realize the slogan of the Third Congress: *the conquest of the broad masses of the working class youth.*

On with the work!

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RESOLUTION

on the

Present Political Situation and the Policy of the Communist International

THE Fourth International Bureau Session of the Young Communist International, having heard Comrade Radek's report on "The Political Situation and the Communist International," hereby records its full agreement with the policy and decisions of the Enlarged Executive Meeting, and with the activities of the Communist International. It calls upon the Young Communist Leagues and the working class youth thruout the world to support with all their strength the slogans and decisions of the Communist International.

*Long live the militant World Party of the Working Class
— The Communist International!*

RESOLUTION

on the
Report of the Executive Committee

THE Third Congress laid down two principal tasks for the Young Communist International. The first of these was the active realization of the slogan of the Communist International — to collect and lead the masses of labor against the increasing and intensifying danger of imperialist war and of Fascism; to give the Young Communist Leagues a greater share in all Party work and in all problems dealt with by the Party and by the Communist International. The other task was the establishment of shop nuclei, organizational work in the trade unions, and other methods of mass activity, for the purpose of penetrating into the masses of the working class youth.

Since the Third Congress, the efforts of the Young Communist International have met with considerable success in some of these fields. Everywhere the Young Communist Leagues have carried out the political instructions of the Communist International. Their participation in Party work has increased materially. Wherever a discussion over the decisions and the policy of the Communist International has arisen, the Leagues have been valiant and faithful advocates of the Communist International (as in Norway and Sweden). The struggle against the danger of imperialist war and against further capitalist adventures found concrete expression in our generally successful international campaign and in the active anti-militarist work of the Young Communist International in the Ruhr district. Tho there is still room for improvement, nevertheless this represents a great advance in the labor movement. All of these activities have proved that

the Young Communist International is an international of action, and not merely of words. The various and systematic efforts of the Young Communist Leagues towards the establishment of a united front have met with ever increasing success in the masses of the working class youth. The influence of the social democratic youth organizations on the masses of the working youth is waning. On the occasion of the Ruhr occupation and at the Hamburg Congress, the bankruptcy of the social democratic youth was obvious. The organization is rent by internal strife, as is shown by the increasing number of advocates for the united front with the Young Communist International; and by the progress of bourgeois and even fascist tendencies in the other ranks of the social democratic international of youth. The Young Communist International, on the other hand, has consolidated itself still more firmly as an unified, militant, world organization. Its influence over the masses of the working class youth is growing, slowly, steadily, surely.

But the Young Communist International would have made even greater progress towards a mass organization if the mass work as provided for in the resolutions of the Third Congress — shop nuclei, trade union fractions, educational work, etc. — had been put into effect with more energy and with more system. The realization of these decisions was hindered and retarded by reaction, by the necessity of concentrating the main forces for the struggle against Fascism and the danger of war; by the political crisis in various parties; by the necessity for more propaganda among the membership on the decisions of the Congress; and, in some cases, by local crises within the Leagues. In the sphere of mass activities a number of Leagues — especially the German — record important progress. Generally speaking, however, the work thus far accomplished is merely a beginning and much remains to be done.

The increasing influence of the Young Communist International has resulted in increasing reprisals from the bourgeoisie and a number of sections have been subjected to savage attacks from the forces of reaction. But these attacks

have not disrupted the Leagues in question, altho their lack of preparation for such attacks has meant great losses. Under these circumstances the problem of international connections and of the leadership of the Young Communist Movement is of the utmost importance. The enlargement of the Executive Committee has brought the desired results and has enabled it to accomplish the tasks mapped out for it by the Third Congress and those arising from the political situation, in leading and guiding the Leagues and the whole organization. It must be stated, however, that in educational work and in the work of the press, much remains undone. Also, the propaganda against Fascism was insufficient, in spite of the efforts of the Young Communist International to bring the question before the Communist International and the Red International of Labor Unions to urge them to deal concretely with these problems.

The guidance of the Leagues was done correctly and the Bureau Session instructs the Executive Committee to continue in this direction. The Bureau Session especially approves the policy of the Executive Committee in Sweden, Norway, Italy, France, America, and Austria.

After its Bureau Session the Young Communist International will begin work with fresh forces. It is confronted with a number of important tasks.

As heretofore and always, it continues to be the foremost duty of the Young Communist International to advocate the policy and decisions of the Communist International. The struggle against Fascism must be intensified everywhere, and the struggle against war danger, the practical anti-militarist work, must be continued without slackening.

In comparison with the period behind us, however, we must pay even more attention to practical mass work. The Leagues must, without delay, begin to carry out the decisions of the Third Congress providing for the establishment of nuclei, and must also organize their fractions in the trade unions. Without these two things all our work will remain without firm basis. The trade union work and the economic struggle which have been neglected in the last period — based on the

actual needs of the young workers and co-ordinated with the work in the shop nuclei — must again become one of the foremost tasks of the Young Communist Leagues. Intensified and continued propaganda amongst those young workers who are still following the social democratic youth organizations, for the united front, is also one of the immediate tasks of the Young Communist International. Of no less importance is the energetic beginning of practical educational work. This practical mass work must also strengthen the ranks of our organizations and be the instrument for increasing our membership.

In the spirit of the decisions of the Enlarged Executive Session of the Communist International, the winning of the young workers in the rural districts has become a necessity with which the Young Communist Leagues must now deal. All Young Communist Leagues and the Young Communist International must make the necessary preparations, organizationally, against the persecutions of reaction.

It becomes the task of the Executive Committee to continue to guide and aid the work of all Leagues, and to improve this work by preparing practical material for the economic, trade union, nuclei and educational activities. The work of the press is to be improved, with the help of a standing press committee of the International Executive Committee. The Executive Committee has, furthermore, the task of improving the connections between the Leagues — delegations, meetings, connections between nuclei and organizations etc. — and especially to strengthen and draw closer the connections between the Young Communist League of Russia and all other sections.

In proportion to their importance for the further development of the Young Communist International special attention must be paid in the near future to the Leagues of Germany, France, Italy, England, America, Checho-Slovakia, Scandinavia, the Balkan States and the Near East.

The Young Communist International will accomplish all these tasks which it faces, and will continue in its rôle as the international leader of the working class youth.

THE HAMBURG CONFERENCE

and the

UNITED FRONT

THE political and economic attack of capital and the danger of new imperialist wars have definitely shown the necessity for a united defensive front of the working class in general and of the working class youth in particular against the bourgeoisie. The Young Communist International and its sections carry on the tactics of the united front towards the social-democratic youth organizations and their international combinations. However, the proposals of the Young Communist International for the organization of a world congress of all proletarian youth organizations in the past year and for a joint arrangement of an international week against the danger of war and reaction, which were made immediately after the occupation of the Ruhr district by the French troops, have been rejected by the leaders of the Young Workers International and of the Vienna International of Youth. These have formed a bloc against the Young Communist International in complete disregard of the vital interests of the working class youth.

This bloc of the two social democratic Internationals of Youth was completed by their amalgamation in Hamburg on the basis of the actual, and in many respects even formal, capitulation of the centrist youth movement and their program to the social patriotic International of Youth. The Hamburg International of Youth does not correspond, in spite of its phrases of "unity", to the urgent necessity of a unification of the forces of the working class youth for the struggle against the bourgeoisie. First, because there exists real solidarity neither between the former centrists and the right wing social democrats, nor between the various national sections of this

International. Second, because this "united" Hamburg International, has its hands and feet fettered by the theory and practice of reformism i. e. by the co-operation with the bourgeoisie. Third, because this "unity" includes only a minority of the forces of the young proletariat, for the strongest International of Youth, the Young Communist International, is not a part of it. And, what is even more, the Hamburg International which is passive in the struggle against the bourgeoisie, began its formation with the struggle against Soviet Russia and against the Young Communist International.

The social democratic phrases and the Hamburg "unity" were unmasked by the Hamburg Conference itself, which rejected the third international proposal of the Young Communist International for the formation of a united front of the working class youth for the struggle against war, Fascism and economic pauperization. The Hamburg Conference preferred a few bourgeois students, who fight for the re-establishment of capitalism in proletarian Russia to the alliance with hundreds of thousands of young communists against capitalism and for the vital interests of the working class youth.

The Young Communist International and its national sections are confronted with the very important task, of showing to the masses of the non-partisan young workers as well as to the members of the social-democratic youth organizations, today as in the past, the true meaning of the Hamburg Conference and its results. The Bureau Session of the Young Communist International appeals to the young workers to examine the shameful results of this Conference seriously and then take an attitude against them.

The Young Communist International will also in future not refrain from making proposals to the Hamburg International of Youth and its national organizations. After the experiences of the Hamburg Conference, however, we consider the best means for the present realization of the united front to be the winning of the lower units organization and of the rank and file of the social-democratic International of Youth for a joint struggle with us. The tactics of the united front therefore has today its main significance on a national and

local scale. It must be carried on under the slogans that are adapted to the concrete local conditions. Especially in the shops the Young Communist Leagues must attempt to influence the young workers and to establish a united front. Of special importance also is the participation of the Young Communist International in all attempts to form a united front on the trade union field, which is being done today in the various branches of industry on an international scale. The increased demands within the Amsterdam trade union movement for a united militant front with the revolutionary workers, the red trade unions and Soviet Russia marks a considerable success for the persistent tactics of the united front that have been carried on in spite of all handicaps. The working class youth must not remain aloof, but must stand in the front rank. On this field the Young Communist International must work, on the one hand, for the establishment of the united front in general and, on the other hand, strive for the active inclusion of the working class youth and its demands in the united front of the trade unions.

RESOLUTION

on the

Program of the Young Communist International

THE Young Communist International has gone thru a very difficult period since the Third World Congress. The threat of war, the offensive of reaction, the growth of Fascism, have made it impossible to put into effect the decisions of the Third Congress to carry on a thoro discussion of the program in the various Leagues. However, the Bureau Session has decided, on the basis of the already existing program draft, upon the following *alterations in the proposed program of the Young Communist International*.

(a) In the political introduction the question of Fascism shall be mentioned as one of the tendencies of developing world reaction.

(b) The program shall be supplemented so as to include our work among the young farm workers and small peasantry.

(c) In dealing with the educational work of the Young Communist International the question of religion and our attitude towards it shall be dealt with, as well as practical measures for our struggle against it.

(d) In the paragraph concerning colonial countries and dependencies the question of our attitude towards the oppression of small nationalities within capitalist countries shall be mentioned.

The Bureau Session considers it essential that in the *Program of the International* the question of the youth shall be set forth.

The Bureau Session proposes that in all interpretations and explanations of the question of the situation of the working class, the situation of the working class youth shall also be mentioned.

In addition the question of the necessity of the youth movement and its rôle in the general labor movement must be dealt with.

The *reorganization of the work of the working class youth* shall be established as one of the principal tasks of the future proletarian state.

In accordance with the requirement that the program of the Young Communist International must be finally endorsed by the Fifth Congress of the Communist International (which occurs before the Fourth Congress of the Young Communist International), the Bureau Session has decided to submit the final formulation of the Young Communist International to an International Commission. This commission shall be called together during the course of the coming winter, and shall be composed of representatives from the following countries: —

Germany, France, England, Bulgaria, Scandinavia, the Orient, and representatives of the Executive Committee of the Young Communist International.

The Bureau Session instructs the program commission to discuss and prepare material on the question of *national League programs* before the next congress.

The Bureau Session instructs all Leagues to begin at once a campaign of explanation and education on our international program. At least one meeting of every branch must be devoted to this question.

ANTI-MILITARISM

The Immediate Tasks

IN the extension of its political work the Young Communist International as a whole has done the best and most successful work in the struggle against bourgeois militarism. It was admitted in serious self-criticism in the Third World Congress that this work had received little or no attention in the whole International but since then the Bureau Session reports that the experiences and results of the last six months have been excellent, altho not yet sufficient.

Two important results have been observed, after long and effective discussions in the plenary session and in the commission of the Bureau Session.

1). The establishment of a permanent revolutionary anti-militarist propaganda in the most important countries.

2). The prompt and active interference in actual imperialist conflicts, by various organizations.

The experience of the past months have been thoroly discussed and examined, and the results are set forth in the resolution covering anti-militarist work of the Young Communist International.

This resolution emphasizes: —

1). Energetic continuation of the general propaganda; taking up the work in those places where nothing has as yet been done.

2). Constant observation of imperialist conflicts and the immediate use of organizations and of propaganda in case of war danger and in cases of imperialist interventions in Soviet Russia; nationally in co-operation with various Leagues, as well as internationally.

3). The organization of a wide-spread anti-militarist education among the children and youths.

4). An increased representation of the interests of the soldiers.

5). Organization, according to a well planned scheme, of an apparatus within all standing and volunteer armies, for revolutionary work.

The struggle against bourgeois militarism and against the dangers of war is an extremely difficult one. In spite of this the Young Communist International has undertaken it because it understands that the most important thing to be done is the prevention of wars and that we *dare* not wait until they have begun. It is better to sacrifice thousands in a struggle against the outbreak of capitalist wars than to sacrifice millions in a mass slaughter which the proletariat has neglected to prevent.

At the Bureau Session the Young Communist International struck a proud balance of its anti-militarist work — the more proud as compared with the deplorable petty bourgeois pacifist howlings of the social democrats at their Hamburg conference. Against this spirit of idleness, against this favoring and encouraging of all the elements which are striving for war, the Young Communist Leagues must take up an energetic struggle. With full consciousness of the goal, prepared to sacrifice, and with assurance of victory, the work must be undertaken. We do not doubt that the masses of the young proletariat will understand that the Young Communist International fights for their interests, and that the road of the Hamburg International of Youth leads to the battle fields of the capitalists.

RESOLUTION on ANTI-MILITARIST WORK

I. The Results of the Work since the Third Congress

THE Fourth International Bureau Session of the Young Communist International states that the activities of the Young Communist International in the sphere of anti-militarist work has been considerably intensified by the national sections as well as by its Executive Committee in the period that has elapsed since the Third Congress.

This intensification began with propaganda thru the spoken and written word, and with the utilization of the decisions of the Congress, which were adapted to the respective national conditions at national and district conferences, or in theses of the national and district committees.

This intensified propaganda found expression in the press, in the publication of special organs in France, Italy, Spain, Lithuania as well as in special campaigns in France, Checho-Slovakia, Finland, Latvia, Lithuania, Esthonia; and was nationally and internationally connected with a considerable increase in the publication of anti-militarist leaflets, booklets, and other material.

Accompanying this intensification of the anti-militarist work of the individual Leagues there was also international co-operation — as in the instances of the French and German Leagues in the problems of the Ruhr occupation; participation of these Leagues and of the Executive Committee in the international conferences against the danger of war, in Essen, in Frankfurt; and the utilization of the Anglo-Russian conflict.

Anti-militarist activity reached its highest point in the international week of agitation against the danger of war,

militarism, and reaction, between March 11th and 18th, which was followed in most countries by intensified persecutions of the Young Communist Leagues — France, Belgium, Spain, Germany, Poland, Rumania, Checho-Slovakia, Finland.

II. The Immediate Tasks

In spite of the recorded successes of the Young Communist International and its sections in the anti-militarist work of the period referred to, the Fourth Bureau Session stresses the necessity of an increase and a strengthening of this work. The mistakes and defects of the period just past must be corrected and eliminated.

In consideration of the experience obtained it regards the following as the immediate important tasks in this sphere.

CO-OPERATION WITH THE PARTIES

To secure the co-operation of the Parties, and to perfect this nationally, as well as internationally, is the most important basis for successfully conducting our anti-militarist struggle.

PROPAGANDA

(a) Energetic continuation of the propaganda against the danger of war and the policy of intervention of world imperialism against Soviet Russia. This work should be carefully adapted to the international conflicts that arise, as for instance the Anglo-Russian conflict.

(b) Establishment of connections with the national revolutionary movements, especially in the Near and Far East, by energetic continuation of the struggle against imperialist armies, and in some countries — China, Mongolia, and Turkey — by propaganda for the formation of revolutionary People's Armies, or the support of those which are already in existence, as well as by the struggle against the utilization of such armies as instruments of militarist oppression in those countries.

(c) Perfecting of the anti-militarist propaganda in the international and national League and Party press — columns

for soldiers; headings *From the Barracks*, etc. — in both quantity and quality, and the publication of more material for anti-militarist propaganda — papers for the recruits, etc. —; the organization of systematic publication of anti-militarist handbills, popular pamphlets, and propaganda booklets.

(d) Collection of material on the internal and external organization of the armies and navies — their technical equipment and specialization, discipline, subordination, administrative conditions, and cultural situation — in order to expose the system of capitalist, imperialist, military and naval forces and armaments, in the national and international press.

EDUCATIONAL WORK

(a) Organization of the anti-militarist education of the young communists, beginning with their entrance into the movement; the elaboration of methods for this work.

(b) Special anti-militarist training of all young communist recruits in the period between notification and actual conscription, as well as the collection of experiences in the methods of this educational work, especially with regard to anti-militarist mass education — propaganda evenings for recruits, etc.

(c) Elaboration of material and directives on (a) and (b) as well as the combination of the anti-militarist educational work with the entire educational work of the movement.

(d) Improvement of that part of the international and national League and Party press which deals with anti-militarist educational work; as well as the publication of special material for this purpose; press correspondence; publication of literature for anti-militarist education; also anti-militarist fiction contrasting White and Red Armies, etc.

(e) To counteract the militarist poisoning of proletarian children in the bourgeois schools, the Communist Children's Groups must include in their work revolutionary anti-militarist education. The special methods necessary for this are to be elaborated by the group leaders, in conjunction with the anti-militarist and educational departments of the Leagues, and must be endorsed by the whole organization.

STRUGGLE FOR THE ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL DEMANDS OF THE SOLDIERS AND SAILORS

(a) Formulation of the economic and political demands of the soldiers and sailors, according to conditions in various countries, on the basis of the demands of the Third Congress and with the agreement of the Communist Parties. (See Propaganda (d) —).

(b) Utilization of the communist members of Parliaments for the defence of the economic and political demands of the soldiers and sailors.

ORGANIZATIONAL MEASURES

(a) Improvement of the internal organizational apparatus for anti-militarist work in all units of the movement — special departments.

(b) Acceleration of the organization of nuclei in the armies and navies as the first condition for a systematic revolutionization of the armies.

(c) Extension of the experiences of illegal work in order to discover the best forms of illegal work adapted to anti-militarist activity.

INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATION

(a) Co-operation of the Leagues in their anti-militarist activity, especially between those Leagues which are in the different imperialistically combined Ententes, — Allies, Little Entente, Border States, Near and Far East, France, Germany, Checho-Slovakia, Baltic States, etc. — and discussion of their common tasks in the sphere of anti-militarist struggle.

(b) Close co-operation internationally as well as nationally with the International Committee of Action for the struggle against Fascism and Danger of War, and its national subcommittees.

The Fourth Bureau Session furthermore instructs all Leagues to continue their work for the application of the decisions of the Third Congress of the Young Communist International, which provide the general directives for the struggle of the Young Communist International against militarism, danger of war and reaction in the present period.

THE STRUGGLE AGAINST FASCISM AND REACTION

THE Bureau Session as a whole referred the discussion on the report on the struggle against Fascism and the measures for safeguarding against the persecutions of the Young Communist Organizations, by reaction, to a committee. This committee held several sessions, after which it was decided that of the many tasks, the two most important were: —

1). Study of the nature of Fascism as a special form of reaction. What distinguishes it in its national varieties? What tendencies are international?

2). Thorough observation and collection of material as to the activities of the Fascists among the working youth. (There is at present very little of such material at hand.)

An enemy can be conquered only if he is known and understood. Much has been neglected in this work, and this explains the existence of many false ideas about the nature of Fascism and many mistakes in the tactics that have been employed in struggling against this dangerous enemy of the proletariat. In June, 1923, Comrade Clara Zetkin reported upon Fascism, in the discussions of the Enlarged Executive Committee of the Communist International. In addition to this report the Enlarged Executive Committee passed a comprehensive resolution as a supplement to which the resolution of the Fourth Bureau Session of the Young Communist International was attached and agreed upon.

During the discussion of the tactics of struggle against the Fascists the position of the Communists towards the nation was for the first time clearly established. The demagogic nationalistic propaganda which is most apparent in the German variety of Fascism has been fairly successful. It attracts

first the circles of the middle class, the intellectual middle stratum, petty officials, clerks, etc. who are thus caught and drawn into the camp of the Fascists. And again the most active part of this stratum are the youthful elements, who with deepest convictions and honest hearts, believe themselves to be struggling for national freedom, not realizing that they are only blind tools of capitalism and on their way to still greater misery. In the speech of Comrade Karl Radek, referring to the shooting of the German Fascist, Leo Schlageter, the attitude of the communist towards the fascist ideology in the matter of the national struggle for freedom, and the relationship of the proletariat to the nation is explained. There must be no doubt as to the fact that only the united and organized mass struggle of the young *and* adult proletariat guarantees victory; and that any isolated action of detached groups or individual terrorist attempt only injures the movement and is therefore to be condemned with all vigor.

Reaction in all its forms endeavors to bind and destroy the activities of the Young Communist Organizations by breaking them up and forcing them underground. Not less than fourteen Leagues belonging to the Young Communist International are today working illegally. The Bureau Session has learned much from the reports on their work, and the slogan must be for all the other Leagues — they are all more or less threatened — Prepare for illegality! There are thousands of things to be considered in connection with this kind of work, and a single mistake, the smallest neglect, may be bitterly avenged, and may mean death, the dungeon, or terrible persecution for many brave fighters.

The number of the victims of reaction is not small, and their sufferings are terrible. The Fourth Bureau Session has only done its duty when it appeals for strengthened activity for the International Red Help. Remember the victims, and help at every opportunity!

RESOLUTION on FASCISM

1). The Young Communist Leagues carry on their struggle against Fascism on the basis of the decisions of the Enlarged Executive Committee of the Communist International and pledge themselves to render the strongest support to the Communist Parties for the carrying out of the practical measures contained in these decisions.

Fascism has spread to other countries after its victory in Italy. Suffering from the consequences of the war and the progressive dissolution of capitalist society broad sections of the population consider Fascism as an ideal which will make for an economic and political renovation of the conditions of the state and for an improvement of their standard of living. These are, above all, sections of the petty bourgeoisie, the officials, the intellectuals, the small peasants and ex-officers. As a consequence of the general pauperization in many cases these strata have been economically pressed even below the level of the working class. Also sections of the working class join Fascism, because they are discouraged by the treason of the reformist parties and the trade union leaders; by the failure of the labor organizations which formerly appeared to be so powerful; and because they have despaired of their own strength and the strength of the working class and of socialism. The slowly progressing development of the world revolution and the struggles of the working class outside of Russia which are not led with sufficient strength and clarity, and the insufficient inclusion of the masses by the Communist Parties in their propaganda and actions have also contributed to this development.

This mass which, in its social and political origin, is composed of the most contradictory elements, which have found

themselves together in the hope that thru the vague promises of Fascism they may realize their own contradicting program, is dexterously utilized by big capital for its own purposes. The bourgeoisie no longer considers its state apparatus strong enough to protect its right of exploitation towards those sections of the working class who are fighting for the rights of life and existence. It therefore uses Fascism as an organization of power for the suppression of the working class and draws from it shock troops for use against the latter.

2). Fascism is, particularly in its beginning, not like the reactionary and violent organizations of the ruling capitalist and militarist clique, altho later it uses the same means as this clique for the suppression of its opponents. It develops as a large mass movement out of the economic and ideological needs of great strata of the population and seeks by its activities (the setting up of radical demands against profiteers and high prices etc.), and its forms (the formation of trade unions etc.) to bring its influence to bear upon the proletariat and induce it to join the fascist movement. Further in some countries its propaganda has an anti-semitic character. In the development of its nationalist propaganda it has the support of all organs of the state and educational institutions, by which especially the young proletarian generation is to be estranged from the interests of the working class. It is, furthermore, supported by the leaders of the social-democrats, who are bound up with the bourgeoisie by their coalition policy and are unable to fight Fascism unless they break with their present policy, and who directly support it by tolerating it in all its forms and actions, particularly where social-democrats participate in the government.

Fascism hopes to attain power as a broad mass movement with legal means.

The more the economic standard of the working class youth deteriorates thru the capitalist offensive against the working class and thru its still more determined attacks against the youth in particular, the better are the prospects of fascist propaganda amongst the masses of the young workers, and particularly amongst the young unemployed workers, the im-

pooverished youth of the petty bourgeoisie and the students, as well as the youth of the working farmers. Fascism attempts to bring its influence to bear upon the youth of all social strata and to train it for the struggle of the bourgeoisie, by supporting itself, on the one hand, by a demagogic propaganda, which with radical phrases, promises to the youth an economic improvement of their situation and a fulfilment of their demands, and, on the other hand, on well organized, well financed youth organizations which include the most determined and active sections of the bourgeois youth.

By cleverly utilizing the miserable situation of the youth and its inclinations to romanticism and its urge to action, which are satisfied in its exercises, parades, processions and all its exterior trappings, Fascism wins also parts of the proletarian youth. Fascism has created for itself its strongest support and its most reliable troops from its youth organizations of all kinds (military, sport, trade, religious). Thus the fascist organizations consisted in the beginning of more than 50 per cent young workers; in Germany the fascist movement is represented by the *Jung Deutschen Orden* (Young German Order), the *Jung Bismarck Bund* (Young Bismarck League), the *Bayrische Jungsturm* (Bavarian Young Storm) etc.

Where, under a non-fascist rule, fascist organizations feel themselves strong enough, the bloody attacks and acts of terror against members or meetings of the organizations of the working class youth, and the attempts to prevent the young workers' organizations from carrying on their activity, increase.

The social-democratic youth organizations carry on an actual ideological preparation for fascist propaganda and fascist ideas in the young workers' organizations by rejecting a joint struggle against the reactionary youth organizations, by their "neutrality" with regard to the political controversy with Fascism, by their co-operation with bourgeois youth leagues. And even worse, among the German young socialists there has already developed the germ of a fascist group and in the Ruhr district members of the socialist youth render assistance to the Fascists in the distribution of leaflets.

3). Fascism must, in its attacks, meet with the determined resistance of the working class. The establishment of the united front of all political and trade union organizations of the proletariat for the purpose of a joint political defence and for the organization of a counter-action is therefore the first condition for a victorious resistance. The struggle for the united front, the winning of powerful positions of the working class by means of shop councils, control committees for the struggle against wage-cuts, increase of prices, reaction and the danger of war, and the establishment of a workers' and peasants' government, must develop the mass forces of the proletariat which in this struggle will defeat Fascism, its most dangerous class enemy, both ideologically and politically and simultaneously will bring about its military defeat. Drawing the conclusions from the experience that the defeat of the attacking Fascists is possible if the working class begins in time to prepare the joint struggle against Fascism, the working class must organize from its ranks defence organizations, which are ready, to defend to the last, the right and the life of the working class and to resist Fascism by force of arms. The defence organizations are the political expression of the united front struggle. As such they have not only the task of the military struggle but also of political propaganda for uniting all workers against Fascism. Therefore they should include workers of all political tendencies.

In order to carry thru in this spirit a general mobilization of the young workers against Fascism, the Young Communist Leagues address themselves to the proletarian youth organizations of all political and trade union tendencies for the purpose of joint action of the young workers on definite occasions and for definite demands, with the call for participation in the united militant front of the adult workers and for the entrance of their members into defence organizations.

The Young Communist Leagues must consider their activity against Fascism an important and daily League work and carry it on with particular vigor. In their economic and political work among the masses of the working class youth, in the strengthening of their struggle for the defence of the

vital interests of the proletarian youth and for the revolutionization of the latter and in their struggle for the establishment of the united front of the young proletariat, lies the most effective means of barring the road to the working class youth against the Fascists. For this purpose the Young Communist Leagues must carry on extensive political enlightenment campaigns against Fascism and rouse the young workers ideologically against Fascism. It is of particular importance, to show to the young workers that Fascism in its essence is hostile to the working class; only thus will the young workers adopt a definite fighting attitude towards Fascism. With every success of our economic work, however small, we remove the working class youth a little further from fascist influence. The Young Communist Leagues also do everything in common with the entire working class to prepare the young workers for the violent struggle with the reactionary power of Fascism. Broad sections of the proletarian youth which hitherto were indifferent towards the Young Communist Leagues, are ready to take up this struggle. The practical beginning of the anti-fascist struggle by the Young Communist Leagues has already proved that it is an excellent means to bind ourselves up with the active, determined part of the working class youth and thus strengthen our organization.

4). The following are permanent tasks of the Young Communist Leagues in the struggle against Fascism: —

(a) The Young Communist Leagues are to carry on, above all in their own ranks, an extensive work of enlightenment on the causes, the aims and the purpose of Fascism. To this end, first of all among the officials, discussions are arranged on such problems as are connected with the question of Fascism (the national problem of Jews, etc.). The fascist programs will receive particularly critical consideration. In the enlightenment work it is not sufficient to outline the exterior characteristics of Fascism, but a definition of its deeper causes is essential. Of similar importance is the enlightenment work among the rank and file.

More than hitherto must we stress the political fight against Fascism. After having received such a training, the

members of the Young Communist Leagues are reliable defence troops whose activity is being carried on under the continuous political influence of the League.

(b) The Young Communist Leagues are to carry on an energetic struggle against the reactionary youth organizations, which they consider to be the shock troops of Fascism. They must develop an extensive propaganda against the reactionary youth organizations in public, and in the press as well as by leaflets among the working class youth, thus destroying the ground for the propaganda of the fascist youth organizations. They must arrange branch meetings dealing with Fascism, to which the unorganized young workers are invited. Similar meetings of the nuclei with the support of the groups are to be arranged.

(c) The Young Communist Leagues are to demand the disbandment of the reactionary youth organizations, prohibition of their meetings, their press and their propaganda. In all meetings and arrangements of these organizations the branches of the Young Communist Leagues, if possible in conjunction with other proletarian youth organizations, should participate and send speakers. Wherever possible, the Young Communist Leagues are to arrange determined counter-actions together with other proletarian youth organizations and the adult working class against manifestations and public meetings of the reactionary youth organizations.

(d) Organizations of an extensive news service on the activity of the reactionary youth organizations. Passing on of all news to the defence organizations, committees of action, control commissions and parliamentary fractions.

(e) The anti-fascist propaganda of the shop nuclei is of particular importance. It must be carried on, apart from an intensified representation of the economic interests of the young workers, by a determined struggle against the employment of fascist elements in the shops (students, technical emergency helpers*, workers who are members of reactionary organizations). In the shops the boycott of such fascist elements

* *Bourgeois strike breakers*

must, on the initiative of the shop nuclei, constitute an effective means of struggle.

(f) In the trade unions and trade union youth sections too, the fractions of the Young Communist Leagues must carry on an eager anti-fascist propaganda in order to drive the trade unions to the struggle against Fascism and prevent the penetration of fascist elements into the trade unions or the formation of fascist trade unions. Where fascist trade unions are in existence, the Young Communist Leagues support the work of the Party to decompose them, while paying special attention to the winning of the proletarian youth within these trade unions.

(g) The propaganda work in the country must be intensified considerably on account of the fact, that the Fascists utilize the peasant elements for their purposes. Expeditions of the Young Communist League together with the Party into the country must be utilized for the neutralization and the winning of the rural youth against Fascism.

(h) Among the petty bourgeois and student youth, propaganda must be carried on together with the communist student fractions; and groups of anti-fascist elements must be formed.

(i) In order to overcome the complete lack of anti-fascist literature, the Young Communist Leagues, supported by the International, must issue leaflets and pamphlets which expose the aims and essence of Fascism. Furthermore in the press, of the Leagues (regularly and on special occasions) and in the Party papers material must be published on the work of the Fascists among the youth, and especially on its attitude towards the youth in those places where it has been victorious.

(j) For the combination and the strengthening of their daily activities, the Young Communist Leagues must carry thru carefully prepared demonstrations and propaganda days against Fascism.

5). The formation of general proletarian defence organizations and their armament has, as a concrete measure of struggle, found a great response among the workers, where such struggles were going on. The most suitable form of the organization of proletarian defence organizations has proved

to be the formation of "factory hundreds". The Young Communist Leagues must in all countries actively participate in the formation of proletarian defence organizations or "factory hundreds", or where such do not exist, initiate their formation. The Young Communist Leagues demand the enrolment of the working class youth from 17 years upwards into the general proletarian defence organizations. When "factory hundreds" are being formed it is the task of the shop nuclei of the League to ensure that *all* young workers of the shop participate in it. The young workers under 17 years may, under the leadership of the leader of the "factory hundreds" and the nucleus of the League be distributed among the "factory hundreds" for the special tasks and services.

The problem of the special treatment and combination of the young members in the general proletarian defence organizations must be dependent upon the conditions and be settled in agreement with the Party and the Executive Committee for each individual country. The manner of the special treatment of the youth on the general defence organizations depends upon the political and military necessities.

The Young Communist International instructs its Leagues to fight with determination against the formation of independent youth defence organizations which are isolated from the general defence organizations, and against all tendencies aiming at such formation. Independent youth defence organizations split the unity of the struggle, create a contradiction between adult and young workers and are themselves no organs which are able to carry on a serious struggle.

Also where, as in Saxony for instance, the youth are only admitted from 20 years upwards on the part of the social democrats, the Young Communist Leagues form no special youth defence organizations. After the rejection of our demands by the social-democrats they carry on an untiring propaganda for the inclusion of the young workers from 17 years in the organizations. In the meanwhile they may, in agreement with the Communist Party and sections of the workers of the other proletarian parties and trade unions, combine these youths into assistant troops under the leadership of a

leader of the general defence organizations. Thus they are subordinated to the general defence organization for which they may do special services. By these assistant troops of the youth the propaganda for the complete enrolment must be continued.

In the labor athletic and sport organizations the Young Communist Leagues must carry on a propaganda to induce these organizations to enrol their members in the general defence organizations. However valuable the members of the labor sports organizations may be for the physical defence against Fascism, experience has nevertheless proved that defence organizations formed by them in isolation from the general defence organizations are not fit for real struggle. This applies also to the proletarian scout organizations etc.

6). The variety of the stages of development of Fascism in the individual countries demands of every League a particular activity, for which the National Executive Committees must set up directives. The international co-operation of the fascist organizations, which demands the international defence of the working class, furthermore requires imperatively the collection of all experiences in the struggle against Fascism.

An extensive co-ordination of the work of the various Leagues in the ideological as well as in the practical fight against Fascism is urgently necessary in accordance with its international significance. Thus for instance the Leagues of Germany, Austria and Checho-Slovakia must act together against the "National Socialists", must exchange material and information, must issue joint appeals, and possibly organize counter-manifestations against the international conferences and meetings of the National Socialists (August 1923).

In all countries the Leagues must participate in the formation of a national committee of the labor organizations for the struggle against Fascism; they must be continuously represented upon it and energetically collaborate in its work.

In the same manner the Young Communist International supports the work of the international organs for the struggle against Fascism and takes an active part in their work.

When committees of action are formed by the Amsterdam international trade union federations and red trade unions,

the Young Communist International must see to it, that the young trade union members also participate in the action, receive a special representation in the committee of action and set up the demands of the young workers.

7). The Fourth Bureau Session of the Young Communist International heeds the warning of the thousands of victims of reaction in all countries and learns from the past. It states that the Young Communist Leagues and the Communist Parties, as well as the entire proletariat have remained much too long inactive towards the doings of reaction. Since the defence of the proletariat has begun it has not been carried on with the same sharpness, quickness and ruthlessness as the attacks of the Fascists. The international proletariat must make up for this twofold neglect.

Do not forget the victims of the struggle! The proletariat must consider every class comrade behind prison walls as a chained limb of its own body. Untiringly must the working class and the working class youth fight for the liberation of all proletarian fighters from the prisons and jails. With devotion they must show their solidarity and as a sign of practical help to the imprisoned comrades support the "International Red Relief". The Liebknecht Fund must become the strongest support of the International Red Relief.

Mutual assistance in the struggle. Every organization must rush to the help of each organization in danger. Material and moral support is necessary: sending of workers is a means to maintain the courage of the fighting comrades and contribute to the defeat of Fascism.

Crush Fascism! Where it has already celebrated its temporary triumph, the proletariat must reorganize its forces; where Fascism is on the march, it must be met by the great army of the working class. The power of Fascism must and will be broken by this iron phalanx.

The Young Communist International calls to the working class and peasant youth to fight together with the class conscious proletariat of all countries against its deadliest enemy. The mailed fist of the revolutionary proletariat must ruthlessly smash Fascism wherever it shows its head.

RESOLUTION

of the

Enlarged Executive Committee of the Communist International on Fascism

FASCISM is a characteristic symptom of the decadency of our epoch, an expression of the steady process of the dissolution of capitalism and the disruption of the bourgeois state.

Its deepest roots lie in the fact that the imperialist war hastened the break-up of capitalism and thus frustrated the cherished hopes and put an end to the former security of livelihood and condition of existence of large sections of the petty-bourgeoisie and middle class, of the small peasant-holders and the intelligentsia. Considerable numbers of these sections of society were vaguely expectant of a thoroughgoing reformation of society, by means of reformist socialism. And they have been disappointed. The betrayal of the revolution by the leaders of the reformist parties and trade unions who surrendered to capitalism and coalesced with the bourgeoisie for the purpose of restoring the old class-domination and exploitation, (all of which was done in the name of "democracy"), caused these "sympathizers" with the proletariat to despair of socialism itself and its potency to liberate and rejuvenate society. The pusillanimity and timidity exhibited by the overwhelming majority of the workers outside of Soviet Russia in tolerating this betrayal, and their submission to their own exploitation and enslavement caused the petty-bourgeoisie, the middle class and the intelligentsia to lose faith in the working class as the instrument for the radical reconstruction of society. These too have been joined by numerous proletarians who, desiring and inclined to action,

have alienated themselves from all existing parties. Further, the forces of Fascism have been recruited from among the disappointed and declassed elements of society, especially ex-officers, whom the conclusion of the war deprived of occupation and means of livelihood. All these considerations apply with especial force to the conquered Central States, as a consequence of which Fascism in these States contains a strong admixture of anti-republicanism.

The Fascists thus present a motley agglomeration devoid of historical knowledge or political experience. They look for salvation to a "State" which is to be their very own creation and tool. This State, standing above class or party is to carry out their vague and inherently contradictory program, under cover of bourgeois legality or not, by means of a "democracy" or a dictatorship.

At the time of the revolutionary ferment and the insurrection of the proletariat, Fascism partially sympathized with the demands of the proletarian revolution, or at least coquetted with them. It has wavered between both camps of the class struggle. When capitalism reasserted its power, and the bourgeoisie started its general offensive, it ranged itself definitely on the side of the bourgeoisie, where its leaders always stood. The bourgeoisie forthwith welcomed it into its service as an efficient mercenary in its fight to subdue the proletariat and to enslave it permanently. Capitalism, as a system, is steadily breaking up; the burdens and sufferings cast on the proletariat thereby become increasingly unbearable. As this process goes on, capitalist order finds the protection of reformist sermonizing and democratic class peace increasingly insufficient against the pressure of the working class. The bourgeoisie needs something more than this for its defence against the working class, namely, an aggressive force. The State apparatus of violence, ostensibly "non-political" no longer provides the requisite security. Thus special class war troops are recruited to combat the proletariat; these are the fascist troops. True, Fascism, by its origin contains tendencies towards revolution which might turn against capitalism and the capitalist State. Nevertheless

it is a dangerous instrument of the counter-revolution. Italy, where Fascism has triumphed, proves this.

Obviously, Fascism in the different countries varies in detail according to historical antecedents. However, it presents some unvarying features. A revival of violence in its most brutal and terroristic shape accompanied by a sham revolutionary phraseology, the demagoguery of which adapts it to the needs and moods of proud and active classes. Its fullest development has been attained in Italy. In Italy the passivity of the Socialist Party and the reformist trade union leaders afforded Fascism a free scope; its revolutionary phraseology induced some proletarian elements to follow it and so assured its victory. The development of Fascism in Italy was facilitated by the incapacity of the Socialist Party and the trade unions to take advantage of the occupation of the factories by the workmen in 1920 in the interests of the proletarian class war. As an outcome of the fascist victory any labor movement, even the purest non-political demand for wages is now forcibly prohibited. The triumph of Fascism in Italy has encouraged the bourgeoisie in other countries to attempt to subjugate the proletariat in their respective countries in a similar way. The fate of their Italian brothers now threatens the workers of the world.

However, the development of Fascism in Italy shows something else, namely, that Fascism is of a two-fold nature and has in it strong elements of ideological and political disintegrations. Its aim — to hammer the old bourgeois "democratic state" into a fascist despotic state, has let loose antagonisms between the old established bureaucracy and the new fascist bureaucracy, between the regular army and its professional officers and the new national militia and its leaders; between the violent fascist economic and state policy and the ideology of the relics of the liberal and democratic bourgeoisie; between monarchists and republicans; between the bona-fide fascists of the black shirts and the nationalists who have entered the ranks of the party and the militia; between the original program of the fascists, which deceived and won the masses and the present fascist policy which

serves the interests of industrial capital, and mainly of the artificially created heavy industry. Behind these and other antagonisms there are the irreconcilable economic and social antagonisms between the various capitalist sections of society, between the big bourgeoisie and the small and middle bourgeoisie, as well as the small peasantry and the intellectuals. Towering above them all is the greatest of all economic and social antagonisms: the class antagonism between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. Consequently we see already the ideological bankruptcy of Fascism, and the discrepancy between the fascist program and the manner in which it is carried out. It is possible that organized armed bands and relentless terror will prevent for a little while the clash of these antagonisms and will conceal the ideological bankruptcy. But finally, the antagonisms within the armed forces will make themselves felt and will destroy Fascism. The revolutionary vanguard of the proletariat must not be a passive spectator of the disintegration of Fascism, for it is its historic task to further and hasten it actively and consciously. The confused and unconscious revolutionary elements within the fascist ranks must be brought into the proletarian class struggle against class domination and the power of exploitation of the bourgeoisie. We must pave the way for the military defeat of Fascism by overcoming it ideologically and politically.

The class conscious vanguard of the revolutionary working classes is now bound to take up the struggle against Fascism dominant in Italy and menacing thruout the world. Fascism must be politically disarmed; the workers must organize for a vigorous and successful defence against its violence. To this end the following steps must be taken: —

I.

A special organization must be created in every country by the working class Parties and organizations of all tendencies to direct the struggle against Fascism.

The duties of such an organization will be: —

1). To collect facts concerning the fascist movement in that country.

2). To enlighten the working class systematically on the hostile nature of the fascist movement by means of articles, pamphlets, placards, meetings, etc.

3). Systematically to enlighten classes recently proletarianized and those threatened with this fate, on their situation and the functions of Fascism as a tool of the great capitalists.

4). To organize the defence of the workers by establishing workers defence corps and arming them. As the fascists carry on their propaganda particularly among the youth and as it is necessary to enlist the working class youth into the united front it is necessary to organize the youth into common "factory hundreds" and to organize workers control committees to stop the transport of fascist bands and arms. Ruthless suppression of every fascist attempt to terrorize the workers and prevent free expression of their interests.

5). To attract workers of all shades of opinion to this struggle. To call on all working class Parties, trade unions and all proletarian mass organizations generally to combine for common defence against Fascism.

6). To combat Fascism in parliament and in all public bodies. In this connection emphasis must be laid on the imperialist and arch-chauvinistic characteristic of Fascism in the various countries, whereby the danger of new international wars is increased.

II.

The organization of the fascist forces being international, the resistance of the workers against it must also be on an international scale. To this end, an international workers' committee must be created. The work of such a committee would be to exchange experiences, and also to organize international action. The first effort is to be directed against Italian Fascism, for which purpose it is necessary: —

1). To commence an international campaign thru newspapers, pamphlets, motion pictures, meetings etc. to acquaint people with the absolutely hostile nature of Italian

fascist rule to the workers, and to expose the systematic destruction of all workers' organizations by the Italian Fascists.

2). To organize international meetings to protect against Fascism and against their representatives abroad.

3). To maintain a struggle in the parliaments; to call upon the parliaments and the International Labor Organizations to send deputations to investigate the position of the working class in Italy.

4). To fight for the immediate liberation of the communist, socialist and non party workers under arrest or convicted.

5). To prepare for an international boycott of all workers against Italy; to stop coal supplies to Italy; to urge all transport workers to refuse to carry goods from and into Italy and so forth. To this end to set up international committees of miners, seamen, railway workers, transport workers etc.

6). Afford material and moral support to the persecuted workers of Italy by collections of money, assisting refugees to get work abroad etc. For this purpose, the work of the International Red Aid must be extended accordingly. The workers co-operatives must be drawn into this effort.

It must be hammered into the workers minds that they will share the fate of the Italian workers unless they, by an energetic and revolutionary fight against the ruling class forestall the attraction of the less class conscious elements towards Fascism. Therefore, the labor organizations must devote all their energy to the protection of the broadest masses of the workers against exploitation, oppression and usury, and must oppose capitalism and the specious revolutionary language of fascist demagogy with the most strenuous mass struggle. All further attempts to organize Fascism at home must be nipped in the bud with all possible energy; and consciousness must be roused to the fact that the defence against Fascism in Italy and thruout the world will be a strenuous fight against it at home.

THE WORK of the SHOP NUCLEUS

THE central question, is the term applied to the construction and reorganization of the Young Communist organizations on the basis of shop nuclei, in discussions of methods of mass organization. Since the Third World Congress this task has been much discussed in the Leagues, but less practically put into effect. At the Bureau Session the work accomplished — or neglected — by the Leagues was thoroly examined. There is no longer any talk of "possibilities" or "impossibilities" in the reorganization of the Leagues on the basis of shop nuclei; but only of the methods and details of this re-organization, and of the decisions which have been made in accordance therewith.

In addition to the resolution which determined the work to be done and which gave directions to the Leagues for the work, a comprehensive program for the functionaries of the shop nuclei has been prepared and will be issued by the Executive Committee. It has been proven that there exists, in all cases where the reorganization on the basis of shop nuclei has been begun, a young, eager, and enthusiastic group of functionaries who need only directions for their work, being as yet unpracticed. The more the activities of the shop nuclei extend, the greater are the difficulties, extending into all the branches of the League work. Each department in each branch must therefore give the greatest possible attention to the work of the shop nuclei, and support and aid it wherever possible.

We have six months of reorganization work behind us. An excellent and promising beginning has been made by the German League, which has also proven that the shop nuclei are the strongest, the readiest for the struggle, and the most

elastic organizations possible. The greatest success of the German League is found in its having given the impetus to the Party reorganization which is now going on. It is now the duty and the opportunity of all the Leagues to use the next few months so that we may be able to report at the next Congress that the time of experiments and groping is past, and that an organization exists which defies everything — even the hardest storms.

RESOLUTION

on the

ORGANIZATION OF SHOP NUCLEI

1. Present Situation and Results of the Nuclei Work

1). The reorganization of the Leagues and the transformation to the nuclei organization were laid down by the Third World Congress as preliminary conditions for the mass activities amongst the working class youth. For our Leagues the nuclei are the means by which we can win constant contact with the masses of young workers; the means which will enable them to lead those masses in their struggles; to educate them politically, and finally, to organize them. The construction of the Leagues on the basis of nuclei makes it possible to proceed directly to the masses, instead of working in isolation, and revises the former methods and forms of our work, making them mass activities.

The activities of the Leagues were concentrated mainly on the propaganda, in conferences and meetings, for the international nuclei decision. Most of the Leagues have issued circulars, questionnaires, and instructions; data for lecturers; theses for officials; they have also explained the nuclei work in special letters to members of branches, as well as in articles in the press. The decisions were adopted in almost all cases without much discussion. In a few instances there was a weak opposition, but in most cases the membership welcomed heartily the new organizational form. This is a significant proof of the fact that the introduction of the new principle arose from the contingencies of the practical work itself. However, the ideological adaptation of the membership to the carrying on of the regular League work thru the nuclei has not been completely accomplished.

Except for the Young Communist Leagues of Russia and of Esthonia, which are completely formed on the nuclei principle, the practical formation of nuclei was satisfactory only in Germany, where nearly one tenth of the members are organized in more than one hundred and forty nuclei. Beginnings have also been made in Sweden, Austria, Checho-Slovakia, Bulgaria and France.

2). The first results of the nuclei work in the German League, which will undoubtedly be paralleled in other countries, if their Leagues proceed in the same manner, are as follows: —

A definite attitude towards the nuclei work and its practical realization leads necessarily and naturally to criticism of the work done previously, and of the situation within the organization. The National Executive Committees become more intimately acquainted with the organizations. In the course of the work of reorganizing, the organizations gain a definite knowledge of the strength, the sentiments, and the needs of the work of the local organizations. The activities of the Leagues are more and more adapted to such forms as are within the scope of the shop nuclei — collection of dues, sale of papers, economic activities, educational work, special directions for the nuclei — and develop into mass activities. Meetings of the young workers in the shops occur more frequently, or are established in shops where they had not been known hitherto. The press more and more reflects the life of the working class youth and the young workers contribute with increasing frequency and regularity. The shop nuclei work also brings a new spirit into all branches of the League work. It interests the membership and induces the officials to intensify their work. Thru the persistent and interesting work in the shop nuclei a great section of the working class youth which we could not previously reach is now joining our organizations.

By shifting the center of gravity of the work into the industrial sphere, the first steps towards a social reorganization of the composition of the membership have been taken.

Simultaneously with the rooting of our work in the shops the influence of the Leagues has greatly increased in all the

struggles of the working class youth, and thereby in the struggles of labor as a whole. In the political sphere, and especially in the economic, the leadership has been given over into the hands of the shop nuclei to an extent hitherto unknown. In cases of strikes it has not been necessary, as formerly, to ask for the directions of the organization in special branch meetings. Instead the nuclei officials acted promptly and directly. The self activities of the membership have also assumed hitherto unknown proportions, and it was especially due to this fact that the Young Communist Leagues have been able to keep the greater number of the specific struggles within control. The confidence of the young workers and of the Young Communist Leagues has increased in proportion to the more conscious work done by the nuclei. With our roots sunk into the factories and shops we shall have, in case of being driven underground, all the preliminary requisites for continuing work amongst the youth, keeping in close touch with them, and maintaining our organisation, and shall furthermore have a solid support for our struggle against Fascism.

3). The problem of reorganizing our Leagues — a problem of no less importance to the Communist Parties — has already, in Germany, led to the decision by the Communist Party of Germany, that the Party shall be immediately reorganized on the shop nuclei principle. Similar endeavors may be recorded to the credit of the Communist Party of Italy, and the Norwegian Party has received instructions from the Communist International to reorganize on the basis of locally combined shop nuclei.

The establishment of League nuclei is not dependent upon the presence of Party nuclei. The Party and League should help each other in their formation. The creation of joint League and Party nuclei must be avoided, because such a course would unnecessarily retard the development of the League nuclei as the basic units of the Leagues. Where, however, as for instance in Italy, such a state of affairs has been created, the League members must endeavor to divide the joint nuclei as rapidly as expedient, and begin the construction and perfection of nuclei of their own.

II. The Immediate Tasks of the Leagues

1). The Bureau Session must state that, with the exception of Germany, the efforts of the sections to put into effect the international decision on nuclei have been insufficient. Theoretical propaganda alone is not enough, even if it had been vigorously carried on everywhere. It must be closely connected with the practical work of establishing nuclei. The continued retention of the old organizational forms makes the necessary transformation increasingly difficult, and thus directly retards the development and extension of our Leagues. On the other hand, the reorganization must face extraordinary difficulties, such as the attacks of reaction, unemployment, and the danger of further isolation from the young workers. All these things make the transformation doubly imperative. The way to overcome all these difficulties is to begin the work at once, and to utilize all those experiences which can be gained only in such work, and not from abstract discussions.

The Bureau Session instructs all National Executive Committees to pay more attention and devote more energy to the nuclei problem. It points out that it is of special importance to arouse the initiative of the rank and file and of the officials everywhere, and to induce them to do independent work, that the best means of propaganda is the formation of nuclei and the influence of the nuclei on the other activities of the League; and that, altho all efforts should be concentrated on the initiation of the work, it must always be borne in mind that this is not a temporary campaign or organizational work, but a transformation of the entire League work and organization.

2). The immediate, practical steps which the National Executive Committee must take are the following: —

(a) Continuation of the propaganda amongst the entire membership, on the importance and necessity of the nuclei work and the reorganization. Added to this the publication of circulars, and circular letters addressed to all members, the issuing of practical instructions for the formation of nuclei and for the immediate tasks of such newly formed nuclei.

(b) Discussion of the nuclei work, conferences, classes, and especially in the form of reports from the factories. Regular space in the League organ, devoted to the discussion of the nuclei work. Organization of correspondence and the publication of reports from the shops.

(c) Registration of the membership, to determine the social composition of the Leagues. Intensification of the recruiting of new members from amongst the industrial working class youth.

(d) Drawing up of a plan by the National Executive Committees on the work of the nuclei in those districts of their countries which are most important to the Leagues — the industrial centers, for instance — and where the preliminary conditions for the establishment of nuclei are best — where members live close to the factories or where strong League and Party organizations exist; discussions with the district committees and special directions to them as to the beginning of the work.

(e) Personal participation of members of the National Executive Committees in initiating nuclei work in a given locality; delivering of speeches in the branches; discussions with League members employed in the shops; instruction of speakers at the first meeting of the new nucleus.

(f) The launching of special drives for the recruiting of new members and for intensifying and enlivening the work of establishing nuclei. Utilization of the regular campaigns (Day of Youth) for the same purpose. This must be carefully prepared for among the members and officials — organizers and speakers must be efficiently distributed — and suitable material — hand bills, papers, etc. — must be prepared beforehand.

(g) Joint conferences with the Party Executive, soliciting its help in the establishing of nuclei, by means of the Party organizations in the shops; and the issuing of directions for this purpose.

(h) Articles in the Party press, influencing Party opinion in favor of the nuclei system, with the aim of reorganizing the Party.

3). All League Committees from the National Executive Committee to the branch committees must devote much attention to the already working nuclei. They must be prepared to meet the various difficulties which will arise in the preliminary stages of nuclei work. They must remember that the nuclei kernel is an entirely new element and that the nuclei officials are inexperienced in the practical work of the Young Communist Leagues; and have little or no experience in nuclei work. The arrangement of lively nuclei meetings therefore encounters great difficulties. With regard to the education of new members the lack of practice and in many cases the lack of political knowledge act as handicaps. The Leagues are especially instructed to improve in every possible way the political and theoretical Marxian education of the nuclei officials.

By including a number of subjects of the youth, Party and trade union movement and of the fundamental problems of Marxism into the nuclei meetings, all members of the nuclei must receive a definite and fundamental political knowledge. By issuing easily understandable data for lecturers the nuclei officials must be enabled to make popular speeches on these subjects.

Every aid must be given to the nuclei for the extension of their functions. In order to collect experiences as quickly as possible, the nuclei must by means of public meetings and socials of all kinds take steps to carry out popular educational work among the young workers of their shops. This activity of the nuclei must be supported by an extensive propaganda.

Officials must be appointed by the branch committees for participation in the nuclei work; however, these officials do not take the leadership of the nuclei work, but merely have to support and influence it. Special instructions must be given for all the various activities of the nuclei. In all current work and in all campaigns the nuclei must be given definite tasks. All material for the use of the organization as well as all organizational instructions must be so formulated that they may be used by the nuclei.

Correspondence between the various nuclei, and the exchange of material and experiences — hand bills, posted bulletins, programs, etc. — must be organized and carefully conducted.

Another means of strengthening the work of the nuclei and of obtaining a survey of the system is the convention of conferences of nuclei leaders and branch representatives according to districts and branches. Such conferences may, during the transitional period, be called in addition to the regular district conferences. They should submit suggestions for further work either to the district or to the National Executive Committee.

4). The formation of nuclei is the first, and comparatively the easiest, stage of reorganization. The second stage, the organization of the branch, should immediately follow. The work of the nuclei as the basis units of the League is impossible without the territorial combination of the nuclei as the basis of all branches. From the very beginning, therefore, all tendencies toward the independence of the nuclei from the branches must be eliminated. They can best be overcome by introducing various measures which call for mutual assistance between the nuclei and the (old style) branch, and by the immediate transformation of the old style branch.

This question must be dealt with again and again, at all conferences and all meetings of nuclei officials or of the branches. Special conferences of the cities and districts must, with the aid of the district committee and of the National Executive Committee — if possible — decide upon and put into effect the initiation of the work. Wherever possible it should be attempted to organize new branches immediately on the basis of shop nuclei.

The organizational statutes of the Leagues must be altered to correspond with the nuclei system.

5). The Bureau Session ratifies the instruction on the formation of nuclei and the practical tasks of the nuclei as the basic units of the organization. It instructs all Leagues to organize and extend their activities on the basis of this instruction.

All new experiences must be brought to the knowledge of all the Leagues, immediately. Hence the Executive Committee is instructed to publish, regularly, a survey on the progress of the nuclei work and of the reorganization of the Leagues.

In order to support the exchange of experiences between the nuclei and to enliven their activity, the National Executive Committees must organize the connection of the nuclei of their respective Leagues with nuclei of other Leagues, especially with the Young Communist League of Russia.

THE WORK AMONGST THE RURAL YOUTH

MANY valuable experiences have undoubtedly been obtained by some Leagues in their propaganda work in the rural districts. They have also gained certain information as to the conditions in which the rural workers live, and as to the general situation of the rural youth. But it is just those Leagues which are responsible for the fact that the report of the propaganda among the youth of the rural districts is not sufficiently concrete and practical. The blame falls upon those Leagues which believed that they could report their experiences first at congresses and conferences and thereby cause a pleasant surprise. How much this has injured the entire movement the members of the Central Committees must themselves have realized, in the administrations of the Leagues.

This non-fulfilment of the decisions of the Congress, and the slow sending in of reports have been most apparent in the rural district work. The Third Congress called upon the Leagues to collect material on the situation of the rural workers, so that after a careful study a complete program of economic, social, and cultural demands could be prepared for the youth of the rural districts. The Bureau Session suggested a series of demands which might be adapted to the conditions in different countries.

A second resolution also gave directions as to the organizational form and content of the work. This is of the greatest importance, because we have a great work ahead of us in the propagating of the demands for a Workers' and Peasants' Government, thru the Communist Party — the winning of the land workers and small peasants for the goal of the revolution. The casual and unsystematized work in the rural districts must be replaced by carefully planned and thought out measures, with full consciousness of the goal towards which we are working. The success of the revolution depends, to a great degree, upon how far the conquest of the land workers and small peasants, including the rural youth who are today being used for reactionary purposes, has advanced

RESOLUTION

on the

Demands of the Young Agricultural Workers and the Small-Farming Youth

THE Young Communist Leagues must devote the greatest attention in every country to the work among the young agricultural workers and the small-farming youth.

In order to win the young rural workers to the communist movement and the social revolution, the Young Communist Leagues must defend the cultural and economic interests of this youth. This is only possible, if the work is organized on a national and international scale, and each League must of course do everything in its power to organize the rural youth and must draw up a program for this work. The cultural and economic demands which this program must contain, will naturally be adapted to the conditions in each country. We recommend the following demands as examples: —

WORKING HOURS

- 1). The young workers of both sexes under 16 years, must on the average, work not more than 6 hours a day and young workers over 16 not more than 8 hours a day. School hours must be included in these working hours. A definite and limited amount of overtime in summer only and with double pay.
- 2). The abolition of child labor, abolition of exceptionally hard work.

WAGES

- 1). Minimum wages, which shall correspond to the minimum of subsistence.

- 2). Equal wages for equal work for young and adult workers.
- 3). Payment of wages, when the work is interrupted without the fault of the worker (rain, etc.).
- 4). Collective agreements by the trade unions where these latter are in existence or are being formed.
- 5). Domestic servants are to be employed only for their special work and not for all kinds of work; their quarters must be adequate and hygienic.

LABOR PROTECTION AND HYGIENICS

- 1). Safety regulations against accidents.
- 2). Immediate medical help at the expense of the employer.
- 3). Full wages for the sick; their re-employment.
- 4). Control of foodstuffs and control of the wages in kind by control committees of the workers or the trade unions.
- 5). A continuous period of employment of six months or over to entitle all workers of both sexes to two weeks' paid holidays per year.

SOCIAL WELFARE

- 1). Extension of social legislation to the rural workers.
- 2). Control of the enforcement of the legislation by the trade unions and the committees of the workers.

EDUCATIONAL

- 1). Compulsory farming education.
- 2). Schools and classes for agricultural workers, domestic workers, animal breeders, garden workers and other rural workers, based on the vocational school principle.

SUPPLEMENTARY RESOLUTION

on the

Problem of the Rural Youth

THE Bureau Session states that a practical examination of the demands of the young agricultural workers and the small-farming youth and its utilization for the purpose of winning these strata of the youth is only possible in the general course of work in the villages. Based upon the experiences already gained (Bulgaria, Soviet Russia) the Bureau Session proposes the following measures for the development of our work in the country: —

1). The League should carefully study the economic and cultural situation and collect all material on it. The collection of material and the examination of the situation has as a preliminary condition the creation of closer connections with the rural districts. This must be done in every possible way (connection with ex-soldiers, special visits, etc.).

2). The next stage must be the organizational work itself. Where conditions for the formation of branches of the League already exist the committees of the League should establish special departments for this work. These demands should in the course of development be created in all committees of the League, the work in and the support of the branches in the country to be done by the neighboring urban branches of the League.

3). Of special importance is the educational work of the League among the young rural workers. It should be adapted to the low cultural level of the rural youth. The basis for the educational work is cultural work with a definite communist tendency.

4). Mass work is of great importance for the activity in the rural districts. It should take the forms of mass meetings and socials, conferences of the rural workers, etc. Mass meetings of the urban and the rural youth in various forms should be organized.

5). The political propaganda, especially among the small-farming youth must be carried on in accordance with the agrarian program of the Communist Party and, where none is in existence, with the theses of the Communist International.

6). The Executive Committee should elaborate detailed suggestions on the educational work in the country and forward them to the Leagues.

THE ECONOMIC TRADE UNION WORK

THE economic trade union work was the subject of the conferences of the committee. No other questions of principle were discussed. The great number and variety of tasks which are connected with the work for the economic interests of the working youth and the work within the trade unions was determined at the Second and Third World Congresses and at the Third Bureau Session in April, 1922. More attention is to be given to the representation of the interests of the unemployed youth.

It was necessary to consider this extremely important branch of our League work because for various reasons — the increased struggle against the danger of war and Fascism, the persecutions of reaction, the Party situation in many countries, the time taken over the discussion of the decisions of the Third Congress — it was placed in the background internationally, as well as in various countries. (See Resolution.)

The decisions made need no further elucidation. Their purpose is to give the economic trade-union work a new impetus to recover what has been neglected. The most important tasks have been outlined and it must be demanded from every League that steps shall be immediately taken for the mobilization of all forces within the organization for work in the shops and in the trade unions — which work has been much neglected. A great campaign which must take place before autumn must show the following results: —

The undisputed leadership of the Young Communist organizations in the representation of the economic interests of the working youth; and

That every communist youth has obtained membership in the trade unions.

RESOLUTION on the Economic Trade Union Work

SINCE the Third Congress the economic trade union work has been pushed into the background for various reasons (the intensified struggle against the danger of war and Fascism, the persecutions of reaction, the situation of the Party in some countries and the period devoted to the widespread explanations of the decisions of the Third Congress) and the decisions of the Third Congress on this problem were carried thru only on a very small scale.

The scanty support from the revolutionary trade union members constitutes a further handicap in this work.

To these reasons we add the most important one — the great deficiency of our present organizational apparatus. This becomes obvious, apart from the absence of nuclei, in the great lack of organizational work in the trade unions and within our own organizations.

The forthcoming period will certainly not bring about a decrease of the economic struggle or a slackening in the process of the pauperization of the proletariat. On the contrary, the pauperization of the working class youth is extending to ever larger masses and new sufferings are daily heaped upon the working class by the bourgeoisie. For the political struggle against Fascism also an energetic fight for the economic demands of the masses of young workers is necessary.

Therefore the Fourth Bureau Session of the Young Communist International emphasizes the necessity for the energetic realization of the decisions of the Third Congress on the economic struggle.

The formation of shop nuclei and the carrying thru of the reorganization of the League on this basis is the most

important condition for the economic trade union work and must be started energetically.

The next tasks for the Leagues on this field are the following: —

1). *WITHIN OUR OWN ORGANIZATION*

(a) The establishment of departments in all committees of the Leagues and improvement of the existing departments. The holding of local, district and national conferences of the economic trade union officials for practical work. Concentration of the work on the industrial areas.

(b) The provision of the membership and the officials with practical material (instructions, circulars, press, compilations of material, practical guides, etc.).

(c) The publication of popular mass literature on the economic situation and the economic struggle of the working class youth in the various countries.

(d) The improvement of the reporting service on the economic trade union work to the Executive Committee of the Young Communist International and promotion of the international exchange of experiences.

2). *WITHIN THE TRADE UNIONS*

(a) The most complete and quickest realization of the international decision on the obligation of the members to join the trade unions.

(b) The energetic formation of trade union fractions. As the basis for their formation, the establishment of committees of work in the various trades and combinations of the members of the League who are organized in the trade unions (according to trades and in general) in meetings.

(c) The exact observation of all trade union problems and events by the fraction committees and the leading bodies of the League. The publication of suitable material by the leading bodies of the League. The publication of suitable material by the leading League bodies to the lower committees.

(d) The concrete and active intervention of the League in all trade union problems and struggles that concern the young workers.

(e) A practical co-operation with the red trade unions. The unnatural relations that hitherto have existed in many countries between the Young Communist League and the red trade unions, which were in no connection and co-operation with each other, must be replaced by active work on the lines laid down in the directions of the Young Communist International and the Red International of Labor Unions for regular co-operation. This should be expressed by means of joint conferences, elaboration of suggestions by the League, joint establishment of wage agreements, etc. Where possible, the League should be represented in the leading bodies of the red trade unions.

(f) Better utilization of the work of the Party in the trade unions in order to promote the representation of the demands of the young workers and to win influence on the young trade union members. Where general opposition blocs exist in the trade unions, the League should, together with the Party, strive for its representation in these blocs in one way or the other.

The Bureau Session insists particularly upon the carrying out of these directions on trade union work. Together with the shop nuclei organization they are an indispensable condition for our mass work. A campaign should be started to carry out these directions, if possible before the autumn.

3). *WITHIN THE SHOPS*

(a) An exact observation of all problems in the shop concerning the young workers and an active intervention in these problems (for instance wage agreements, working hours, hygienics, vacations, apprenticeship, maltreatment, etc.).

(b) The convention of shop meetings.

(c) The collection of material on the situation of the working class youth in the shop by the shop nuclei. Continuous communication of the shop nuclei to the Party and League press.

(d) The establishment of a close practical co-operation with the trade union organizations and shop councils in the shop.

(e) The active support of the shop councils movement and active participation in it. The struggle for the right of the young workers to vote and to be elected and where this is legally impossible, election of representatives of the young workers who with a consultative vote would participate in the work of the shop council. The former, however, should in no case be independent bodies or special organizations, but only constitute a part of the shop councils movement. The political character of the League and its independent activity should be maintained completely.

4). THE STRUGGLE FOR DEFINITE DEMANDS

It is necessary that every League should concentrate upon the most important and topical demands in its respective country and that it should direct its endeavors especially to the propaganda for these demands amongst the masses of young workers.

Special attention must be paid to the demands of the unemployed young workers. The Bureau Session refers on this to the circular on unemployment.

The Leagues must maintain a close connection with the unemployed organizations and committees.

A number of Leagues, which since the adoption of the decisions of the Second World Congress have mainly concentrated their work on the international organizational work, must now proceed to propaganda among the masses and to actively struggle for the demands of the young workers.

In the near future all Young Communist Leagues must actively fight for the economic demands of the working class youth.

The needs and demands which result from the present situation of the masses of young workers, must become the subject of energetic daily activities of the Young Communist Leagues as a whole and must in suitable cases be intensified to campaigns.

By fulfilling the above directions, the Young Communist Leagues will be enabled to achieve this task.

DECISION of the Bureau Session on the Collection of Economic Material

WITH regard to the fact that most Leagues by their practical work have already gathered extensive material the Bureau Session has decided: —

That the international investigation on the situation of the working class youth, for which the Executive Committee appealed in 1921, must now be carried thru completely and that all sections of the Young Communist International must forward their answers to the questionnaire before October 15th.

Further it instructs the Executive Committee to utilize this material in the press and in pamphlets.

EDUCATIONAL WORK

THE work which has as its aim a deepening of the knowledge of the entire membership in general and of the functionaries in particular, becomes more and more urgent and extensive. The daily actual struggle demands constant preparedness from the members of the Communist Youth organizations, and above all sufficient ammunition to carry it thru. Be it only in the struggle against Fascism; or a campaign against imperialist war agitation; or the representation of economic interests in the trade unions or in the shop; for every form of work an education is necessary. A new element now appears in our midst — the functionary of the nucleus. He is not one who has been gradually developed in the branch; he has not gone thru all the stages from distributing literature to branch chairman; he is often a member who has been only recently attached to the movement, or who has, at most, passively attended meetings where the reins were held by older and more experienced comrades. Now he is a functionary of the nucleus, perhaps even secretary, and has many and important duties. He must help with advice and with action, if the whole important work of the shop nucleus is not to become wrecked. The experiences of the past six months have shown plainly that it is necessary for the education committee to occupy itself principally with the

Training of Functionaries of Shop Nuclei.

The effecting of the decisions, beginning with the Executive Committee and going down to the smallest units, guarantees that no reversal shall take place in the reorganization work so proudly begun.

Of no less importance is the forming and training of
Working Groups of Propagandists.

The example of the Russian League shows that they are a powerful instrument for the militant work of the Communist Youth organizations. Their core must be formed from the most capable comrades of the shop nuclei, who must popularize in the shops, the ground of our organization, every action and every campaign.

For the support of the

Educational work among the Masses

the issuing of abundant material has been planned, the leading idea of which is the support of the practical struggle within all spheres.

For this work, however, a preliminary condition must be created by the Leagues. *All previous experiences must be reported immediately, new experiences must be reported and exchanged.* In a special resolution directions are given as to the substance of the reports on the educational work.

RESOLUTION

ON

EDUCATIONAL WORK

The Organization of the Educational Work

THE Leagues of the Young Communist International are at present confronted with the tasks of transforming their organization and continuing their work on the basis of the shop nuclei. This work demands that the educational work of the Leagues shall be carried on in such a manner that the practical work of the nuclei will receive the greatest attention and support.

With the influx of many new members into the organization (especially thru the nuclei) and with regard to the lowering of the average age of the membership in most Leagues, and the hitherto insufficient training of their members, the creation of an active, well trained staff of League officials has become an urgent necessity.

The organization of the educational work of the nuclei for the development of an extensive propaganda and educational work among the masses of the young workers — all such work to be in connection with topical political events — and the systematic training of officials for the leadership of this work, are therefore the most important tasks of the Leagues in the sphere of education.

In order to achieve these aims under the present conditions we need Leagues with an organizational structure which will actually bind together all the members.

The main forms of the educational work, which constitute the system of education, and which are adapted to the needs of the various sections of the League members, are the following: —

- 1). Nucleus.
- 2). Branch (Political School).
- 3). Collective propagandist groups and classes.

All League members, in accordance with the extent of their political knowledge, belong to one or other of these most important links of the educational system, which are kept together by the process of preparing the members and transferring them from the lower to the higher stages. The first stage must prepare the members for the branch, and the branch must make them fit for the working groups and classes for propagandists. On the other hand the members of the working groups of propagandists organize the various forms of nuclei and branch work and provide the nuclei and branches with active League workers.

1. THE EDUCATIONAL WORK OF THE NUCLEUS

The Fourth Bureau Session endorses the instructions of the Executive Committee on the organization of the educational work of the nuclei and especially stresses the necessity of developing it on the basis of the vital problems of the young workers in the shops.

The educational work of the nucleus must be organized and carried thru in the following manner: —

- 1). Appointment of a member of the nucleus committee to take charge of the educational work; in larger nuclei, the election of an educational committee.
- 2). Establishment of definite tasks, or the elaboration of a scheme or system for the educational work; inclusion of every nucleus member in the working out of the scheme of work, and the collective elaboration of the various parts of this plan; appointment of individual members for certain tasks; examination of the scheme of work by the nucleus committee, and endorsement of it by the nucleus meeting.
- 3). Winning of Party officials for the support of the educational work, by giving reports, making speeches, and by joint discussion with the members of the Party nucleus on the character, the forms, and the methods of the educational work.
- 4). Utilization of all nuclei meetings for the discussion of economic and political events and for the treatment of simple theoretical subjects.

5). Distribution of subjects to the various members of the nucleus who, with the aid of the educational officials, or, of the nucleus committee, prepare speeches and deliver them at a meeting of the nucleus.

6). With the extension of the work and the strengthening of the nuclei, the organization of study circles for dealing with the problems of the conditions of work and with the life of the young workers; of the youth movement; of the labor movement; and of Marxism, can be begun. It should be attempted to win the non-organized young workers of the shop as participants in these circles. The officials of the branch who have been delegated to the nucleus for co-operation and assistance should be used for the leadership of these circles.

7). Leadership and guidance of the self-education and of the independent reading and study of the members of the nucleus.

8). Organization of public nuclei meetings and propaganda among the young workers of the shops, in order to interest them in the discussions of the vital problems of the situation of the working class youth in the respective shops, and induce them to participate in the shop meetings.

9). Organization of various kinds of mass educational work for the young workers of the shop; oral news service;* evenings for the reading of papers; evenings for questions and answers; etc.

10). Issuing a posted bulletin,** dealing with the problems of the young workers in the shops; and inducing the young workers to contribute to that paper.

* The oral news service means that from time to time comrades report the various items of news known to them, by word of mouth, to the meetings of the nuclei.

** A posted bulletin is a large sheet of cardboard or stiff paper pasted on the wall containing only the title. Upon this blank all comrades record news items, or opinions on the political or economic situation, or draw cartoons, etc. At regular intervals the blank is renewed. In Russia these poster bulletins are pasted up in the factory; where this is possible in capitalist society it should be done, otherwise the bulletins should be pasted up in the clubs and branch rooms of the Leagues.

11). Distribution of literature; increasing the number of subscribers and readers of the League organ and of the international magazines.

12). Establishment of a youth library in connection with the labor library existing in the shop.

13). The organization of "hikes", excursions, sport arrangements, etc., in addition to the political work.

14). Inducing the League members and the other young workers in the shop to visit branch meetings and to participate in the work of the branch.

II. LEADERSHIP AND SUPPORT OF THE EDUCATIONAL WORK OF THE NUCLEI BY THE LEADING BODIES OF THE LEAGUE

After the formation of the nuclei it is the tasks of the leading bodies of the League to support the general activity of the nuclei, and particularly their educational work. The fulfilment of these tasks demands the following measures on the part of the branch committees: —

1). Discussion of the problems of the practical work of the nuclei, by all the educational officials of the nuclei.

2). Examination of the composition of the nuclei, with regard to political knowledge, and of the cultural level of the members.

3). Support and help of the nuclei in elaborating the tasks of the scheme of work for the forthcoming period, in the sphere of education.

4). Appointment of officials who are instructed to participate in the educational work of the nuclei.

5). Outlining the most important problems which must be dealt with by the nuclei meetings of the respective locality, and the elaborating of data, theses, etc., on problems of a general nature and for special subjects. The provision of such material and its uniformity is an important task of the district committees, especially in those localities where the branches are unable to furnish it independently.

6). Organization of working groups of propagandists, who shall meet regularly for the discussion of the problems of practical nucleus work.

III. THE TRAINING OF OFFICIALS

In this field the following tasks must be accomplished: —

1). Most problems of the League work must — for the purpose of popularizing them among the whole membership — be presented to the meetings of delegates, by the leading bodies; and to the meetings of nuclei chairmen, etc., for discussion.

2). Leadership of the self-education and of the independent reading of the officials.

3). Charging of the officials with various Party activities and the utilization of the Party circles and schools for the education of the officials.

4). Organizing of classes for officials, for the various kinds of League work, on a local scale.

5). Continuation of the organization of classes on a district and local scale.

These classes must, above all, deal with the fundamental problems of the League and Party work, and must, therefore, serve the Marxian education of the officials.

IV. WORKING GROUPS OF PROPAGANDISTS

The collective propagandist groups represent combinations of the most active elements of the League. These groups, the work of which must be systematically organized, have for their task the training of the propagandist forces of the League. They must meet regularly for the discussion of all problems of the regular propaganda, as well as of the special campaigns of the League and the International, and to prepare for further discussions in the nuclei, etc.

The Fourth Bureau Session therefore considers the formation of collective propagandist groups as the best means of combining the officials of the branches, and endorses the directions that have been issued regarding these, by the Executive Committee.

The Bureau Session stresses the necessity for systematic and regular work of these propagandist groups, and instructs the leading bodies of the League to pay great attention to

the preparation and carrying thru of the meetings of these groups, and to supporting them in every possible way.

The support of the Party must also be won to these working groups of propagandists. The Party must place at their disposition lecturers, educational material, literature, etc.

The plans of the working groups of propagandists should, if possible, be discussed with the respective educational committees of the Party, and should be adapted to the work of the League and of the Party, in the respective periods. The members of the working groups of the propagandists must also participate in the work of the Party. They must co-operate in the Party circles, make speeches at Party meetings, etc.

V. THE IMMEDIATE TASKS

The Fourth Bureau Session of the Young Communist International calls the attention of all National Executive Committees to the forthcoming winter period and requests them to use this period for intensified work in all the practical tasks outlined in this resolution in the sphere of educational work. It asks them to submit, immediately or as soon as possible, plans of work for this period, to their Leagues. The accomplishing of these tasks on the general principles of the educational work of the Young Communist Leagues means the beginning of a serious communist educational work during the winter period. In order to facilitate these difficult tasks the following measures must be carried thru: —

1). Elaboration of schemes of work for all phases of the educational system.

2). Careful consideration of the character and methods of all kinds of educational work.

3). Elaboration and publication of material, pamphlets, and guides to methods in the various problems of educational work.

4). Preparation of regular campaigns for the occasions of the anniversary of the Russian revolution, Christmas, New Year, Liebknecht Day, March events, and at the end of the school year when children who have completed their studies finally leave school.

5). Organization of classes for officials, especially for the officials in small districts.

6). Organization of the training of the leaders of children's groups.

Furthermore the most important immediate tasks consist in the elaboration of plans on the following problems, in the various countries: —

- (a) Anti-Fascist propaganda;
- (b) Anti-religious propaganda;
- (c) Work among the youth of the rural districts.

VI. THE ORGANIZATIONAL TASKS OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

For the best utilization of past experiences, and for the correct leadership of the educational work of the various Leagues, the following must be carried thru: —

1). Establishment of educational departments in the National Executive Committee of each and every League.

2). Permanent systematic leadership of the activity of the educational departments of the Leagues, by the Executive Committee of the Young Communist International.

3). Regular reporting on the educational work, by the National Executive Committees to the Executive Committee of the Young Communist International.

4). Extension of the educational section of the *International of Youth* by

- (a) Publishing more articles of a leading character;
- (b) Publishing reports on the experiences of the various Leagues.

5). Publication of material dealing with both facts and methods — data, booklets, etc. — by the Executive Committee of the Young Communist International.

DECISION

on the

Report of the Educational Department of the Central Committee to the Educational Department of the Young Communist International

IN order to guide the educational work of the various Leagues, by the educational department of the Executive Committee, the Fourth Bureau Session of the Young Communist International decides as follows: —

The educational department of every League must furnish to the Executive Committee, every second month, a comprehensive report attached to which shall be some sample material. These reports must deal especially with the following questions: —

(a) EDUCATIONAL WORK IN THE LEAGUE

Results since the last report — separately for members and functionaries; are there any new plans — central district, provincial, etc.? special descriptions of experiences and results of the educational work in the nuclei and in the training of functionaries — if possible with statement of the number of members participating, and the percentage of the entire membership; what is the subject of the educational work — political, anti-religious, natural science, historical, etc., stated in percentages; if courses have been given programs are to be included; was any special literature issued on respective subjects; are there libraries in Party, League, branch, or nuclei; the use of the libraries; what has been accomplished in regard to the support and control of the individual development of the members; what connection has the educational work as a whole had with the actual and political tasks of the League?

(b) EDUCATIONAL WORK AMONG THE MASSES

Forms and results of training work among the non-party youth — evenings of propaganda, art, and literature, etc.; relationship of these in percentage to the other educational work of the League; statement of the number involved, if possible; to what extent could the nuclei assume the work of this educational campaign; in what way do connections with the workers' sport organizations exist, in this sphere?

DECISION

on the

Obtaining of Methodical Instructions and Material for the Educational Work in the Leagues

[N consideration of the complete lack of suitable educational material for the work of the Leagues, and owing to the difficulty of obtaining such material from the Leagues themselves, the Executive Committee must increase its efforts in this direction. The following material is especially necessary for the immediate work of the Leagues — in addition to that already mentioned for the educational work of the nuclei.

1). FOR THE STRUGGLE AGAINST MILITARISM

Instructions for the political work of conscripted League members in the barracks, such as the political connection of the League with the soldiers in the barracks and in the army. Catechism for soldiers; *belles lettres* literature of a revolutionary anti-militarist character; stories of the battles of the Russian Red Army in the struggle for communism; stories of the lives and education of the soldiers in the Red Army.

2). FOR THE STRUGGLE AGAINST FASCISM

A book of information on Fascism (eventually one for each of the principal countries) giving the peculiar characteristics of Fascism, internationally and in each country, its tendencies and its methods; with instructions or theses as to the nation and communism (the Jewish question, etc.); the union between workers, peasants, clerks, officials, and technicians; *belles lettres* literature on the fascist revolution in Italy; stories of battles with White Guards in the Baltic countries, in the border states, and in Russia, in which the underground work of the revolutionists is treated especially, in a sympathetic and stimulating way.

3). FOR ECONOMIC TRADE UNION WORK

Publication of all decisions hitherto arrived at, in this sphere of work, in the form of a pamphlet with a popular introduction. Issuing of a popular pamphlet concerning the daily small tasks in the shops; questions of tariffs, etc., is desired with the co-operation of the Leagues.

4). FOR WORK IN THE RURAL DISTRICTS

Regular compilation of material on the situation of the peasant youth, or the young farm workers; further, a popular propaganda pamphlet directed to the rural youth; and methods of instruction as to land propaganda.

5). FOR ORGANIZATIONAL WORK

A pamphlet, which should be a small manual explaining the tasks and the organizational work of the functionaries of the League, with special emphasis upon the work of the nuclei functionaries; the organization of work groups and of collective propagandist groups.

6). FOR INTERNATIONAL TRAINING OF LEAGUE MEMBERS

The history of the Young Internationals; the historical tasks of the Young Communist International; the history of the international labor movement; regular and comprehensive compilations of material on the situation in the other internationals of youth, the Young Communist International; and a yearbook of the working youth.

7). FOR THE NUCLEUS

A regular bulletin for the educational work of the nucleus, to appear every six or eight weeks, containing instructions and material, as for instance — "How to direct the educational work of the nucleus". Working plans for this educational work, in connection with proletarian memorial days, especially calendar events, religious festivals — material for anti-religious education — memorial days of inventions which are of importance in particular shops; bourgeois and patriotic memorial days with corresponding oppositional material, etc., and political and economic daily occurrences; biographies of leaders of the working class, with sources of material; the development of

the nucleus library; distribution of literature; — How is mass educational work directed among the shop youth — wall drawings, written newspapers, questionnaires, discussions, excursions, "hikes", games, sports, etc.

8). FOR THE FUNCTIONARIES

Methods of instruction something like the following: How do I make a report? how do I read a book? how can I educate and develop myself? how do I collect material for my work among the working youth? how do I prepare and direct courses? — with outlines for programs and instructions for training work; conferences of the leaders of nuclei education; instructions for the activities of the individual in charge of literature; instructions for the work of propagandist collectives and working groups; wall drawings; collection and compilation of experiences in the educational work in the various countries.

Substantial material for anti-religious propaganda; theses on political and economic themes; (for this purpose the first series of *Rüstzeug** should be extended and developed); articles on the most important questions in those spheres of knowledge which must be mastered by young communists, and which may serve as a basis for evenings of discussion and reading, for instance the rôle of the Young Communist Party, its historical basis and function; political economy; history of society; religion and its injurious effect upon the working class, etc., etc.

9). FOR EDUCATIONAL WORK AMONG THE MASSES

Methods of instruction with examples of the same, with special emphasis on the anti-religious propaganda among the working youth; conversations and discussions; art evenings; living picture groups at demonstrations; political games; moving picture shows, etc., at public meetings; material for illustrated lectures; the sex problem; more popular propaganda literature; what does the Young Communist International want? What do the Young Communist Leagues want? *Belles lettres* revolutionary and anti-religious literature etc.

* This is a League publication in German containing material, facts, figures, etc., for League functionaries.

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RESOLUTION on RELIGION

THE Fourth International Bureau Session of the Young Communist International deems it expedient to define clearly and definitely its attitude towards religion, dealt with by the last Enlarged Session of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, and to issue for the Young Communist Leagues practical directions for their anti-religious propaganda.

The Fourth International Bureau Session of the Young Communist International fully agrees with, and adopts without reservation, the resolution of the Enlarged Session of the Communist International on the question of religion, and emphasizes the necessity for the anti-religious education of the working class youth and the importance of the special tasks of the Young Communist Leagues in this respect.

Religion is a form of mental suppression weighing heavily on the masses, worn out by incessant toil for other people's needs. The conditions and situation of the exploited create a fertile soil for the propagation of a hope for a better life in another world. "Religion is the opium of the people", and the masses of the toilers, drugged by it, are thereby drawn away from the struggle for a decent standard of life. Religion is today one of the most important weapons of the capitalist ruling class.

Hence the declaration that religion is a private affair and not the concern of the state cannot be interpreted to mean that it is a private affair and not the concern of the communist organizations.

The Fourth International Bureau Session of the Young Communist International declares that to the Young Communist Leagues religion is not a private affair and that it is the

task of every League to educate the masses of the young workers and peasants in the spirit of revolutionary Marxism, a task that cannot be accomplished without breaking once for all with blind prejudices, ignorance, and darkness, and especially with ignorance in the form of religious faith.

For this reason the Young Communist Leagues, in order to struggle against the religious poisoning of the masses of young workers and peasants, and further to emancipate them from religious prejudices, must organize scientific and anti-religious propaganda. The Bureau Session, however, points out that such anti-religious propaganda is not to be considered a principal task or a special field of work, but is to be only a regular part of the general educational work of the Young Communist Leagues, conducted with the aim of drawing the working class youth into the class struggle. Participation in the class struggle creates the best preliminary condition for the materialist viewpoint. The struggle against the reactionary rôle of the church and for its separation from state and school, which is part of the class struggle, will eventually effect the natural emancipation of the proletarian youth from priests and religion.

The Fourth Bureau Session of the Young Communist International thinks it necessary, in these circumstances, to point out that the organization of the anti-religious propaganda of the Young Communist Leagues must find its expression in the following concrete forms: —

(a) Combination of agitational forms with the other methods of propaganda in clubs; lectures in nuclei and shops; and, further, in the curriculum of schools and study courses.

(b) Publication of scientifically enlightening and anti-religious popular literature for distribution amongst the masses of the young workers and peasants.

(c) Anti-religious campaigns — the extent of which is to be determined by concrete conditions — on the occasions of religious holidays.

In consideration of the necessity for a careful handling of the problem of anti-religious propaganda, and further, in

consideration of the permanent character of this propaganda, the Fourth International Bureau Session proposes to make it a continuous feature of the educational work of the Leagues and, proceeding on the basis of extending the scientific structure of the materialist conception, to organize scientific education in such a manner that it will immediately lead to atheist conclusions.

THE WORK

of the

Young Communist International in Athletic and Sport Organizations and Kindred Movements

Introduction

It became clear at the World Congress that the sport problem is a very complicated one and that many things must be done before it will be finally solved. The last Bureau Session brought out many new viewpoints, most of which are indisputable. The most important question is that of the attitude towards the *factory sport clubs* which are becoming universal in different countries, especially in the United States of America. Opinions were not unanimous in regard to the *character*, the *possibilities*, and the *expedience* of revolutionary work within them. The lack of material was especially felt in the discussion of this item. Other defects exist in the determining of the attitude towards professional sport and towards clubs for particular kinds of sports, as well as in the clearing up of the problem as to whether or not proletarian athletes should enter into contests with the bourgeois and neutral sport organizations.

It was unanimously agreed that the slogan of the World Congress: "Away from the bourgeois sport and athletic organizations! Join the workers' athletic and sport movement!" should be strongly emphasized. For work in the proletarian organizations several directions are given, the central slogans of which are: Fight the "neutral" declarations! and — Struggle against the bourgeois sport movement, within the labor sport movement!

It is the duty of the Young Communist organizations to see to it that these organizational measures are put into effect,

to the letter, co-operating in this with the adult communist sport organizations so that the aim of the Red Sport International — "To make clear and plain the fundamentals of the class struggle in the workers' sport and athletic organizations as a whole!" — may be realized.

A special decision was made in the resolution regarding the sport problem, condemning the tardiness of the Leagues in the making of reports and the supplying of information. Due to these failures the matter cannot be finally decided and the whole problem is referred to the Fourth Congress for decision.

RESOLUTION

of the

Fourth International Bureau Session of the Young Communist International on the Work of the Young Communist International in the Sphere of Athletic and Sport Organizations and Kindred Movements

THE very fact that the athletic and sport movement includes large masses of the working class youth who must be won over by the Young Communist organizations makes it imperative that we pay more attention than we have hitherto done to this domain. The development of economic and political events during the period since the Third Congress of the Young Communist International has increased the importance of this work. The intensification of the economic offensive, and especially of the political offensive of capital, which is manifested in the steady growth of reaction and in the continued growth of the fascist movement, demands the unification of all proletarian forces, including the labor-athletic and sport movements, in a united defensive front against the united capitalist forces. It demands, furthermore, the winning over, or at least the neutralization, of those proletarian and middle class sections which — thru the channels of athletic and sport organizations — are moving towards Fascism. For all these reasons an intensification of the activities of the young communist movement in the athletic, sport, and kindred organizations is a duty of the utmost political importance, both for the Young Communist Leagues and for the entire communist movement.

Moved by these considerations, the Fourth Bureau Session emphasizes the necessity of national and international intensi-

fication of the work of the young communist movement in this domain, as expressed in the resolution of the Third Congress on the sport problem, and lays down as the immediate task of the Leagues the following directions: —

I. Struggle Against the Bourgeois Athletic and Sport Movement

(a) *BOURGEOIS ATHLETIC AND SPORT ORGANIZATIONS*

The bourgeois athletic and sport organizations, no matter whether they are nationalist, religious, or "neutral", are class instruments of the bourgeoisie. Catering, as they do, to the needs of the laboring masses to retrieve by physical exercise the harm done to the bodies of the workers by the capitalist system of production, they are in a position to enrol great sections of the proletariat and especially the working class youth of towns and country. Ostensibly neutral, politically, they disseminate nationalist or religious education and "citizenship training". These organizations employ methods of physical culture which tend to weaken the proletarian spirit of solidarity and class consciousness, and to strengthen individualism, thus making athletics and sports a means toward bourgeois ends; drawing the youth away from the proletarian class struggle and using them — especially in this epoch — as fascist shock troops for the class interests of the bourgeoisie and of the land owners.

In connection with the labor sports movement the Young Communist Leagues must energetically oppose all bourgeois athletics and sport clubs, no matter what their tendencies. This must be done thru a careful use of the social composition, bringing about a systematic disintegration by pitting the members of the different classes against each other, in their own ranks. The proletarian membership of all proletarian athletic and sport clubs, especially the youth, must be enlightened as to the "neutrality" and the real attitude of these organizations towards the proletariat. This is the only means by which some of their sections can be removed from the fascist camp and others be prevented from joining it. Our slogan

must be — Leave the bourgeois sports and join the labor sports movement!

But indifference is not the only reason why workers belong to bourgeois sport and athletic organizations. The workers often prefer the bourgeois organizations because of the superior quality of their sport facilities — fields, club equipment, gymnasiums, etc. To counteract this tendency the labor and especially the proletarian youth elements must be convinced that the main consideration is the interests of the working class, and not the quality of the sport facilities. In emphasizing the class character of all kinds of physical training we must stress the technical equality of the labor sports movement with the bourgeois organizations.

In some countries there is no distinctively labor sport movement. In these countries the Young Communist Leagues must take the initiative in founding them. With this end in view the "class conscious" proletarian members must be induced either to leave the bourgeois organizations and form their own — if their proportion to the whole membership warrants such a course — or to remain in them for winning greater sections to the proletarian viewpoint. At the same time all preparations must be made for the formation of labor sport and athletic organizations. Special attention must be given to the population of the rural districts, in this work, especially to the working youth. If it is impossible to win these sections for the labor sports movement they should be temporarily organized — only in those countries where there are no labor sports organizations — into sport organizations of their own, in order to counteract the influence of the agrarian bourgeoisie.

The work of education in the bourgeois sport and athletic organizations should, however, not be confined to the proletarian members. We must endeavor to win over those sections which come from the declassed petty bourgeoisie and from the proletarian intellectuals. As these sections form a great contingent of the fascist movement they should be at least neutralized in the struggle between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat.

Of no less importance for the Young Communist Leagues is the winning of the great numbers of proletarian children in the ranks of the bourgeois sport and athletic organizations. These children must be induced to join special children's sections of the labor sports organizations, for the purpose of physical training, and to join the communist children's groups for their mental education. The establishment of children's sections in the labor sports organizations and the creation of communist children's groups where they do not already exist is one of the most important tasks of the young communist movement. The formation of children's sections is to be determined by the specific national conditions which prevail in each country.

(b) FACTORY SPORT CLUBS

Factory sport clubs have recently begun a rapid development, both in the highly industrialized capitalist countries and in Soviet Russia. In the latter country these clubs are devoted exclusively to the physical training of the proletariat and its bodily well being, but in the bourgeois countries they are the instruments of the employers. They are given to the proletariat as the "presents" of the bosses, who use them to train the workers to servility, strike breaking, and "technical emergency" work. By binding the workers to the shops after working hours these clubs and their promoters extend the time in which bourgeois influence is brought to bear upon the workers, to draw them away from the class struggle. Most important of all, however, is the fact that these sport clubs strengthen the worker and thus create the preliminary condition for higher profits for the masters. In this sense the factory clubs are even more directly the class instruments of the bourgeoisie than are the bourgeois sport and athletic organizations outside of the factories, because they are in closer contact with the process of production, and the direct returns on the capital invested in them is much greater than the return on the subsidy granted to the bourgeois sport and athletic organizations.

It is therefore necessary to struggle against the system of capitalist exploitation by means of the factory sport clubs.

Wherever such factory clubs exist the struggle must be carried on within them, especially by members of the Young Communist Leagues, who must form fractions therein. In order to deprive such clubs of their capitalist charity characteristics we must demand that a clause be incorporated in all wage agreements providing that wages shall be paid for the time spent in these clubs. We must further demand that they shall be entirely controlled by labor itself, and that they shall be free from all direct or indirect influence of the factory management. These clubs must serve the purpose of the physical well-being of the workers, and not the profits interests of the employers.

Physical training within these factory sport clubs must be conducted on the basis of collective and militant methods which will make it impossible for them to withdraw the workers from the class struggle; prevent the workers from becoming indifferent; and prevent their exploitation for capitalist interests — strike breaking, etc. The factory sport clubs can, thus, become bases for the united defensive legions of the proletariat against reaction and Fascism. But only if the workers eliminate the bourgeois class character which dominates the factory sport clubs in the capitalist countries, and substitute therefore a proletarian class character — altho this cannot be completely accomplished before the accession of the proletariat to power — can they make the factory sport clubs a means of the proletarian class struggle and, later, of socialist reconstruction.

Wherever such factory sport clubs have not yet been established and wherever, under the pretext of public welfare, propaganda for them is being carried on, the Young Communist Leagues must — without opposing the factory sport clubs as such — expose the true purpose of the bourgeoisie in founding them. By strengthening the already existing labor sport organizations and by establishing them where they do not already exist — in connection with the communist nuclei, if possible — by refusing the subsidies of employers, and by demanding agreements for their protection; by a clear emphasis placed upon their class purposes; all proletarian organizations, and especially the Young Communist Leagues, must counteract

the efforts of the employers to use the factory sport clubs for their profit interests, under the pretext of "promoting the public health".

(c) COMPULSORY PHYSICAL AND MILITARY TRAINING

By means of the so-called compulsory physical training or military preparation the capitalist system uses the sport desires of the toilers for its purpose, thru the state which is also in the service of the capitalist system. Ostensibly these institutions are intended for improving the public welfare. In reality they are a disguised means of militarizing the proletarian youth, from their childhood.

Just as in the struggle against militarism, the Young Communist Leagues must stand here, also, in the front ranks of the opponents of compulsory physical training and military preparation. In countries where these institutions have already been established the young communists must use the same tactics as they use towards the bourgeois armies. They share in them, combine into nuclei, and carry on in their proletarian environment the same revolutionary and educational work as in the regular army. They demand that the institutions for the physical training and for military preparation shall be controlled by the organs of labor.

Where, however, these have not yet become generally established institutions the young communist organizations must, in co-operation with the labor, sports, and athletic organizations, carry on an energetic propaganda against their establishment. They must demand of the state that if it is actually interested in the public welfare and health it shall give the money intended for the militarization of the proletarian youth thru their disguised organizations, to the labor organizations which will use it to establish institutions for physical culture.

II. The Activities of the Young Communist League in Labor, Sport, and Athletic Organizations

(a) DEVELOPMENT AND SITUATION OF THE LABOR SPORTS AND ATHLETIC MOVEMENT

The labor sport and athletic organizations have come into being as a counter-move against the bourgeois movement in the same sphere, and have therefore been founded frankly on a class basis. But when reformism became victorious within the labor movement the labor sports movement went astray. This became apparent in the slavish adoption of the bourgeois sport methods which finally led to open co-operation with the bourgeois sport and athletic movement. In the political domain reformism led to chauvinism and to the acceptance of the bourgeois phrase of "the neutrality of physical culture", and hence to passivity in the class struggle. This petty bourgeois cancer in the labor sport movement affiliated to the Lausanne Federation of Labor Sports Organizations, culminated in 1914 in the following of the social patriotic traitors to labor, by all the various sections.

After the war the straying of the labor sport movement from its original aims kept pace with the growing of the social patriotic labor leaders into the acceptance of the bourgeois ideology, the prattle of free construction and of the harmony of interests between capital and labor. But at the same time the opposition to this policy began. In many labor sport organizations an opposition was formed which assumed the responsibility of leading the labor sports and athletic movement back into the class struggle. This movement found concrete manifestation in 1921, in the Red Sport International.

Contrary to the Lucerne International, whose sections are drifting more and more towards the bourgeois camp, the Red Sports International strives to enrol the labor sport movement in the proletarian front. It favors co-operation between the labor sports organizations and the political and economic militant organizations of the proletariat, and the participation of the former in all class actions of labor. The Red Sports International gives the labor sports movement concrete tasks.

in the proletarian class struggle, as for instance participation in the struggle against militarism, reaction and Fascism; the formation of common defensive legions of labor in the present epoch, which gives an actual militant character to the physical training of the proletariat. To achieve this aim the Red Sports International demands close co-operation of all parts of the labor sports and athletic movement in a united front — federation or unity — a front which should not be disturbed by any technical differences of opinion regarding the methods of physical culture. These differences of opinion, usually based upon the conception of sport as an end in itself instead of as a means to an end, must be overcome in order to do away with the division of forces in the labor sports movement and to build a great united movement. Specific forms of athletics or branches of sports should not be rejected merely on the ground that they are "bourgeois". The question of methods of physical culture should, instead, concern the "class" conscious labor sport organizations only in so far as they touch on the problem of how the sport activities of labor can be pressed into the service of the proletarian class struggle and its physical demands, and as to how to eliminate from it everything inherited from bourgeois influence and education.

(b) THE ATTITUDE OF THE YOUNG COMMUNIST LEAGUES TOWARDS THE LABOR SPORTS ORGANIZATIONS

As the Young Communist Leagues are especially interested in the revolutionary education of the great number of young workers organized in the labor sport movement, it is their duty to support the efforts of the opposition in the labor sports movement, and of those organizations which have come back to the class struggle and joined the Red Sports International.

1). *Struggle against the bourgeois sport methods within the labor sport movement*

The Young Communist Leagues must use all their influence to eliminate from the labor sports organizations the club routine with its drinking and cheap socials; its individualistic competitions with record systems; its parades and shows; and must

substitute for these education for proletarian solidarity and "class consciousness", and adaptation to the daily tasks of the proletarian class struggle — for instance training to ensure the physical fitness of the proletarian legions. For this purpose revolutionary educational work is also imperative. The character and extension of such educational work is determined by the initiative and the activities of the young communist members of the labor sports organizations.

Another thing we must oppose is the fostering of any tendencies towards "professional" sports which only serve to satisfy bourgeois desires and which become an object of profit-greed. The professionals — except for a very few "stars" — are the subjects of vicious exploitation and, having become proletarianized, must be enlightened as to their class situation and be won for the proletarian class struggle on the basis of their economic demands. In the ranks of the labor sports movement there is no room for professional sport which has nothing in common with the technical necessity for sports and athletics — the improvement of the physical conditions of the workers.

2). *Opposition to all declarations of neutrality on the part of the labor sports and athletic organizations*

The Young Communist Leagues must conduct both extensive and intensive propaganda for emphasizing the class character of every form of physical culture (See I. a); for drawing a definite and clear line between the proletarian organizations and the bourgeois sport movement, also in the field of sports; they must point out the impossibility of a national united front with the bourgeois athletic and sport movement, and make it clear to all proletarians organized in labor sports bodies that it is their duty to participate in all class actions of the proletariat (See I. a).

3). *Opposition to all forms of co-operation between the labor sport movement and the bourgeoisie*

All competitions with bourgeois organizations must be rigidly opposed, because such competitions only tend to promote the interests of the bourgeoisie by blurring the distinct class

line between the labor and the bourgeois sports movements. Exceptions to this rule are permissible only in the case of young labor sport organizations with a view to showing the proletarian the equality of their organizations with those of a bourgeois character (See I. a). The decision on such exceptions must be determined on the basis of actual conditions prevailing in individual countries.

Co-operation in joint federations between the labor sports movement and the bourgeois sport organizations, for either material or technical purposes, must also cease. The only permissible exception to this is in cases where labor sports organizations find it absolutely impossible, without such affiliation, to secure material means for their activities — football fields, reductions in fares, etc. All such temporary affiliations must be accompanied by energetic preparations for a division of classes and for independence in this sphere. This can be achieved by means of proletarian co-operation, by securing the aid of the trade unions and worker's co-operatives. In addition to this the Young Communist Leagues must endeavor, everywhere, to have all those federal and municipal regulations abolished which make the granting of material and technical means to labor sports organizations dependent upon their affiliation to general sport or athletic federations.

Regarding the federal and municipal institutions for physical culture, we must follow the same tactics in these as in the parliaments. We must work within them with a view to unmasking them. We must energetically oppose all subsidies to labor organizations when these are granted upon the basis of the political tendencies of individuals or party groups. We must, on the other hand, demand the granting of such subsidies in the form of fixed amounts and as part repayment of the taxes and other duties which are paid by the working class. Apart from this we should demand that all these institutions place material and technical means — grounds, etc. — at the disposal of the labor sports organizations, at the expense of the bourgeoisie. These demands must be realized by means of a united proletarian front everywhere where there is a labor majority.

(c) ORGANIZATIONAL MEASURES

To accomplish all these tasks thru the Young Communist Leagues a number of organizational measures is imperative: —

1). *Fractions*

The young communist, as well as the adult communist, workers must form, in all labor sport organizations, fractions whose task it is to work along the lines enumerated under (b) and especially among the young members, for affiliation with the Red Sports International. In this work, however, we must firmly oppose all tactics which would tend toward splits, and must always advocate the unity of the labor sports movement. We must endeavor to win the majority of the membership of the labor sports organizations on the principle of labor democracy and to lead them as one body into the ranks of the Red Sport International. Even the non-communist members should find their way to that organization whose aim is not a communist labor sports movement, but who considers it its main duty to revive in the labor sports movement as a whole the principle of the class struggle.

For these reasons all communist fractions must use all sympathizers, in their work, and together with them form red blocs within the labor sports organizations. The young communists must endeavor to obtain, by special activity and initiative, a greater influence in the work.

In accordance with the principle of preserving the unity of the labor sports movement, the young communist members in those organizations must participate in all actions of the reformist officials and of the Lucerne Sport International. In this, however, they must never lose sight of the principles enumerated under (b) 1), 2) and 3), that is the adaptation of those actions to the concrete militant tasks of the proletariat. With the same end in view the Young Communist Leagues must endeavor to have those red sport organizations which are outside the Lucerne Sport International included in such actions, in consideration of the necessity for a united front of the labor sports organizations. Finally, the Young Communist Leagues must see to it that the red sports

organizations demand admission into the proletarian federations, and internationally into the Lucerne Sport International, to create the proletarian united front.

In order to co-ordinate the activities and replace the reformist leaders by class-conscious militant elements, and to conquer the labor sport organizations for the Red Sport International, the fractions — in order to make the best use of their influence — must combine locally, provincially, and centrally; must elect their own leaders; and must work uniformly on the basis of the instructions of the Red Sports International, the Young Communist League, and the Communist Party. They must also observe that the red blocs carry out the same organizational measures.

Communist fractions must also be formed in those labor sport organizations which have adopted the platform of the Red Sports International. Communist leadership alone is not sufficient to influence, in a revolutionary sense, the members or those masses which must yet be won.

2). *Departments*

In order to influence and guide their fractions within the labor sport organizations, and in order to accomplish all the tasks which must be done, to help the labor sport organizations, the Young Communist Leagues must establish, locally, provincially, and centrally, sport departments which must closely co-operate with those of the Party. In addition to influencing the red blocs thru the fractions of the Leagues and guiding them in the labor sports organizations, the departments must carry on oral and written and printed propaganda for the Red Sports International as a proletarian class instrument, and must induce all League members to enter the labor sports organizations. Not one member of the League must belong to a bourgeois sport organization. The departments must especially see to the regulation of the relationship of the Leagues with the labor sport organizations, on the basis of close co-operation. For this purpose ideological work, that is, enlightenment on the various tasks of both organizations within the proletarian movement as a whole,

is of primary importance. This enlightenment will do away with all ideas of dualism which are still in existence and make clear the necessity of mutual aid and co-operation — distribution of the communist youth and children's papers in the workers' sport organizations. In active work of the young communists in the labor sport organizations, both in sports as such and in regard to the educational work amongst the young workers and children; in opposing all individual competition; in agreements preventing dualism in social affairs; in reducing physical culture within the Young Communist Leagues to the minimum determined by the needs of mass education and culture, all causes for possible disputes must be avoided.

The relationship, co-operation, and mutual aid must and shall be closest in those labor sport organizations which are affiliated with the Red Sports International and the red blocs in those organizations which still belong to the Lucerne International. The measure in which this relationship can be attained everywhere is dependent upon both the quality and the quantity of the fraction work of the Young Communist Leagues within the labor sports movement.

DECISION
of the
Fourth International Bureau Session of the
Young Communist International on the
Problem of Sports

WHEREAS the resolution of the Third Congress of the Young Communist International on the problem of sports, requiring the Leagues to send in material to the Executive Committee, has been inadequately complied with, a final solution of the attitude of the Young Communist International towards the work in the sphere of the athletic and sport movement, and kindred organizations, as well as of the disputed questions raised at the Third Congress is impossible and must be postponed until the Fourth Congress of the Young Communist International.

Until then all sections of the Young Communist International must fulfil their obligations to supply this material.

DECISION
of the
PRESS COMMITTEE

INTERNATIONAL OF YOUTH

to be published henceforth as an organ of functionaries.

German Edition: —

The size and extent — 32 pages — to remain as before, a permanent cover is to be adopted.

English Edition: —

remains as before. After the "Day of Youth" number still another issue is to appear this year. — From January 1st, 1924, the magazine is to be published bi-monthly, if the English sections have gained a number of subscribers which appears sufficient to the Executive Committee.

French Edition: —

From January 1st, 1924, quarterly.

Scandinavian Edition: —

Quarterly.

Checho-Slovakian Edition: —

Quarterly.

Bulgarian Edition: —

Quarterly.

Russian Edition: —

The Executive Committee, together with the Russian Young Communist League, is commissioned to regulate the publishing.

CORRESPONDENCE OF THE YOUNG INTERNATIONAL

German Edition: —

Should bear the character of a bulletin and be offered for sale. Extent, 4 to 6 pages. Published monthly and in case of need.

English Edition (now Y. C. I. Review): —

as before, extent 12 pages. Published monthly.

French Edition: —

to be discontinued.

Spanish Edition: —

Bi-monthly.

Flemish Edition: —

The Executive Committee is commissioned to regulate the publishing, together with the sections in question.

PRESS CORRESPONDENCE OF YOUTH

To be published in German, English, French, at least once a month, if possible more frequently, and with fewer pages than before.

It should contain the following sections: —

- 1). Revolutionary calendar, memorial days, biographies.
- 2). News from the International (Reports and work experiences, translations from the press of the youth). Decisions and proclamations by the Executive Committee and other organizations.
- 3). The Russian Young Communist League and the situation of the youth in Soviet Russia.
- 4). Material for educational work.
- 5). Short stories and feuilletons.
- 6). Poems.
- 7). Information about literature, and book reviews.
- 8). Illustrations.

THE PROLETARIAN CHILD (BULLETIN FOR LEADERS OF CHILDREN'S GROUPS)

as before, German, English editions.

The Executive Committee is commissioned to regulate the publishing of a Scandinavian, Checho-Slovakian, Flemish, as well as a Russian edition together with the corresponding sections.

THE YOUNG COMRADE

The organs of the children of the various Leagues have their own editorial office which corresponds to the conditions of the local movement. The Executive Committee must co-operate more strongly in the adherence to a certain line in the sense of the international communist children's movement. The international part of the children's papers is to be more emphasized. The German edition of *The Young Comrade* must be continued as at present, owing to the present impossibility of creating a special organ for the German and for the Checho-Slovakian movement of the children's groups. The international form is to be strengthened.

SPECIAL NUMBERS

The publishing on certain occasions must be continued and in the most important languages as well. The Executive Committee is commissioned to announce the issuing of the numbers in due time to the Leagues, which on their part must attend to a mass distribution. The make up of the special numbers must be done in such a way that the price of the newspaper remains cheap, if possible.

The Executive Committee is commissioned to continue its efforts for the winning of co-operation for the international press and for the increase of its circulation in the sense of the proclamation issued. The support of the Executive Committee in the work of the Leagues for the changing of the League press into mass organs, is considered an important task of the immediate future.

TO THE YOUNG WORKERS' LEAGUE OF AMERICA

THE Fourth International Bureau Session of the Y.C.I. sends its fraternal greetings to the revolutionary vanguard of the working class youth in the United States and welcomes the decisions of your Second National Convention, which, we feel sure, will go a long way toward winning to your banner larger and ever larger masses of the exploited industrial and agrarian youth of America.

We gladly welcome you into our ranks as a sympathizing organization and hope that before long you will be able to associate with us even more closely.

In the very life center of world imperialism your tasks are indeed great. But your active propaganda and educational work and above all your whole hearted participation in the every day struggles of the working class youth should together with the repressive acts of the capitalist governments of the United States help to break down those democratic illusions which still envelop the minds of the workers there; and to bring them into action against capitalism and its degrading, disintegrating society.

We are especially glad to note your work of reorganizing your League on the shop nuclei basis as a means of reaching the masses of the American working class youth, and hope the time is not far distant when you can announce successes in this field.

The realistic economic demands for the exploited youth which you adopted, will help to bring you into the every day struggle and gain to your ranks a large number of the working class youth in the United States. No opportunity should be lost to agitate and fight for the demands adopted

at your convention. We are sure you recognize the importance of using the Party, the League and as great a portion of the labor press as possible, to make known your economic demands. By carrying on a consistent campaign for these demands you put your organization in the forefront as the champion of the working class youth of America.

Comrades, your real work has but begun. Carry on. The revolutionary youth movement of the world looks to you as the only movement in America that can and will win the youth of that country for the revolutionary struggle against wage slavery and for communism.

Moscow, July 13th, 1923.

THE ENLARGED BUREAU SESSION of the YOUNG COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

TO THE WORKING CLASS YOUTH OF JAPAN, CHINA, COREA AND TURKEY

THE Enlarged Bureau Session of the Young Communist International protests in the name of the working class youth thruout the whole world against the outrageous acts of Japanese and Chinese militarists against the youth of Japan, Corea, and China. At the same time it observes with satisfaction the recognition of the groundlessness of the arrest of members of the Young Communist League in Constantinople by the Turkish authorities.

The Japanese government compensates the decreasingly small reduction of the army by complete militarization of the schools, universities, and bourgeois youth organizations. The entire country is impregnated with the poison of militarism. Protest manifestations against militarism, begun by the most revolutionary youth, have led to mass arrests of the more advanced youth of Japan.

Far more severe measures of suppression are used against the revolutionary youth movement in Corea, subjugated by Japan. The Japanese militarists have succeeded in breaking up several youth congresses — including also the congress of the Young Christian League on account of "Communism", and about 100 young revolutionists were thrown into prison.

Directed by the imperialist robbers of Europe and America the militarists in China organize periodical mass fights among the students, destroy socialist youth organizations, and arrest young revolutionists.

In Turkey the government is apparently striving to show imperialist England and France that she has attained the same grade of civilization as they, by arresting the most advanced and straightforward fighters for the complete independence of Turkey — the communist youth.

The Young Communist International, sagaciously watching over the revolutionary youth movement in the Eastern countries, sends its brotherly and warm greetings to the young prisoners in Japan, Corea and China, who were arrested owing to their struggle against the instigators of war, against the oppressors of their own and foreign people.

The revolutionary youth of the world does not doubt that the revolutionary youth of Japan, Corea, and China will respond to the atrocities and arrests with a closer alliance and a more persistent struggle against the oppressors.

Down with militarism!

Down with the suppression of the youth of the East!

Long live the struggle for the liberation of the people from the yoke of militarism!

Moscow, July 13th, 1923.

*THE ENLARGED BUREAU SESSION
of the
YOUNG COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL*

CONCLUDING REMARKS

THE result of the ten days' work of the Bureau Session is comprised in the present copy of *Rüstzeug*. The carrying out of a number of very important decisions rests with the Central Committee, in closest agreement with the Executive Committee. The International Youth press will be further improved and developed, changes already being made in the immediate issues.

In reference to the decisions of the Finance Committee, a new appeal will be directed to the entire International for the increase of the

Liebkecht Fund

so that the coming struggle may find us financially prepared, without that delay which would take place if later arrangements had to be made, to prevent the destruction of our organizations by reaction.

This booklet should be

Ammunition.

It is a guide for our line of work up to the Fourth World Congress, the meeting of the general staff of a revolutionary army of the young proletariat of all countries, marching from one victory to another.

FOR THE USE OF SPEAKERS

For Reporting on the Fourth Bureau Session of the Young Communist International

Moscow, July 1923

I. IMPORTANCE

The importance of the Fourth Bureau Session of the Young Communist International is most apparent in a comparison with the Hamburg Congress of the Socialist Young Workers' International.

In the Socialist Young Workers' International there are: No clearness of principles; antagonisms in all problems; avoidance of the practical, economic, anti-militarist and anti-fascist struggle; tendencies toward coalition with bourgeois elements; and a keen fanatical agitation against the real, proletarian, work and struggle of the Russian revolutionists.

In the Young Communist International there is: complete agreement in all questions of principles and of tactics; a definitely outlined program of action and lines of direction in all branches of work; no federalism, but a strict international centralism.

The Hamburg Congress did nothing more than to establish that nothing had been done in the past and that nothing will be done in the future.

The Moscow Bureau Session can review, with pride, the great successes of the past six months.

The Ruhr activity: anti-militarist work of the French and German Leagues.

International Propaganda Week: against the dangers of war, reaction, and Fascism (March 11-18).

Whitsuntide demonstrations

Organizational successes: Nuclei work in Germany; successful beginnings in Checho-Slovakia, France, Sweden; great progress in the Russian League.

II. THE YOUNG COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL AS A WORLD ORGANIZATION

Not only formal recognition of the Executive Committee as the highest unit; international leadership; influence and correction of Sections; permanent connections thru correspondence, delegations of varying lengths of time for permanent co-operation in the Leagues, to the Congresses and conferences.

Ideological unity: Recognition of all decisions of the Young Communist International and the Communist International; work for their recognition; fight against confused opinions inside the Communist movement — Scandinavia.

International ability to act, and fighting strength: Ruhr action; International Propaganda Week; Entirely external, also world organization, due to extension in all parts of the world — a movement of more than fifty Leagues in the Far East, growth in America, active groups in South Africa.

III. SIX MONTHS WORK: PRINCIPAL ACHIEVEMENTS

The crises — partly due to lack of political interest, partly to inaction — mentioned at the Third World Congress, have been overcome.

Rigid self criticism and the decisions adopted have proved to be correct. Example: Germany. Here the manifestations of this crisis were most distinct. By means of an immediate putting into effect of the decisions of the Congress, it was overcome. With the reorganization on the basis of shop nuclei the work became strongly rooted in the masses of the working youth. New elements pour into the Leagues. The Seventh National Congress was a sign of the surmounted crisis and showed progress, in the extension and growth of the League. In other

lands, as well, the reorganization decisions have been accepted and successful beginnings have been made.

Anti-Militarist Work was, up to the time of the Congress, deficient thruout the whole International. Based upon the decisions of the World Congress it has become strongly rooted.

The Struggle against Fascism has been systematized and intensified. Special stress is laid upon the ideological struggle against Fascism.

IV. CONTINUATION OF REORGANIZATION, ANTI-MILITARIST, AND ANTI-FASCIST ACTIVITY

(a) **Organization of Shop Nuclei:** Practical rules are established by the resolution and by the plan of work; each member must become familiar with these.

(b) **Anti-Militarist Work:** The resolution emphasizes:

- 1). Energetic continuance of general permanent propaganda. Beginning work where nothing has as yet been done; and
- 2). Constant observation of all imperialist conflicts; the use of all propaganda measures and organizational means in cases of war dangers; of interventions against Soviet Russia; and the international co-operation of Young Communist Leagues.
- 3). The organizing of a broad anti-militarist education among the children and youth.
- 4). Increased representation of the interests of soldiers.
- 5). The organization of a planned apparatus, within all standing and volunteer armies, for revolutionary work

(c) **For Continued Anti-Fascist Activity** the following measures are necessary:

- 1). The study of the nature of Fascism.
- 2). Observation and collection of material on the activities of the Fascists among the working class youth.
- 3). Clarity as to the forms of armed struggle against

Fascists — organized mass struggle; rejection of separate actions of detached groups; and of individual acts of terror.

- 4). Preparation for illegal work; enlightenment as to the rules of conspirative work.

V. ECONOMIC STRUGGLE ACTIVITIES IN THE BACK-GROUND

The struggle against militarism, war danger, reaction, and Fascism have occupied most of our efforts and strength. For this reason, and other objective reasons, the trade union work was not strongly enough conducted during the past six months.

The Fourth Bureau Session again declares the leading of the economic struggle to be the duty of the Leagues. Furthermore, a special decision obliges the Leagues to conduct campaigns within the membership for trade union organizing.

New Decisions were reached on the problem of work in the rural districts, and on Sport.

The work among the rural youth has hitherto been entirely incidental, and without directions. The resolution of the Fourth Bureau Session as to the demands of rural workers and small peasant youth gives instructions for the direction of organizational work. The Young Communist International is the first youth organization which has formulated the demands of the rural youth from the angle of winning them for the social revolution. The Sport resolution is not to be considered as final. Further discussions will be necessary before the next world congress. But the slogans are once more emphasized, in regard to factory clubs, professional sports, and bourgeois leagues:

Away from the bourgeois athletic and sport organizations!

Into the Workers' Athletic and Sport Movement!

To be used in the proletarian sport organizations:

Against all declarations of neutrality!

Struggle against bourgeois sports!

Educational work is increased.

The increased active struggle and the flood of new members, the formation of shop nuclei, all require that the greatest attention shall be given to educational work.

The decisions give instructions for the training of shop nuclei functionaries, for the propagandist collectives, and for the work of mass education. There have been great defects in reporting and exchanging experiences. A special decision demands that this shall be remedied, by the Leagues.

SUMMARY OF RESULTS

An active exchange of experiences during the past six months, supported by the experiences and theories of the past, form the basis of valid and practical directions for all branches of work of the Young Communist International.

The Executive Committee has expressed its absolute confidence in, and has approved the activities, and the principles and tactical procedures of the Communist International as stated by Comrade Radek in a five hour report.

Thus the future work is guaranteed. As a world organization, externally and internally united in ideology and in the struggle, the Young Communist International will gather the masses of exploited and suppressed working class and peasant youth around its banner.

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